

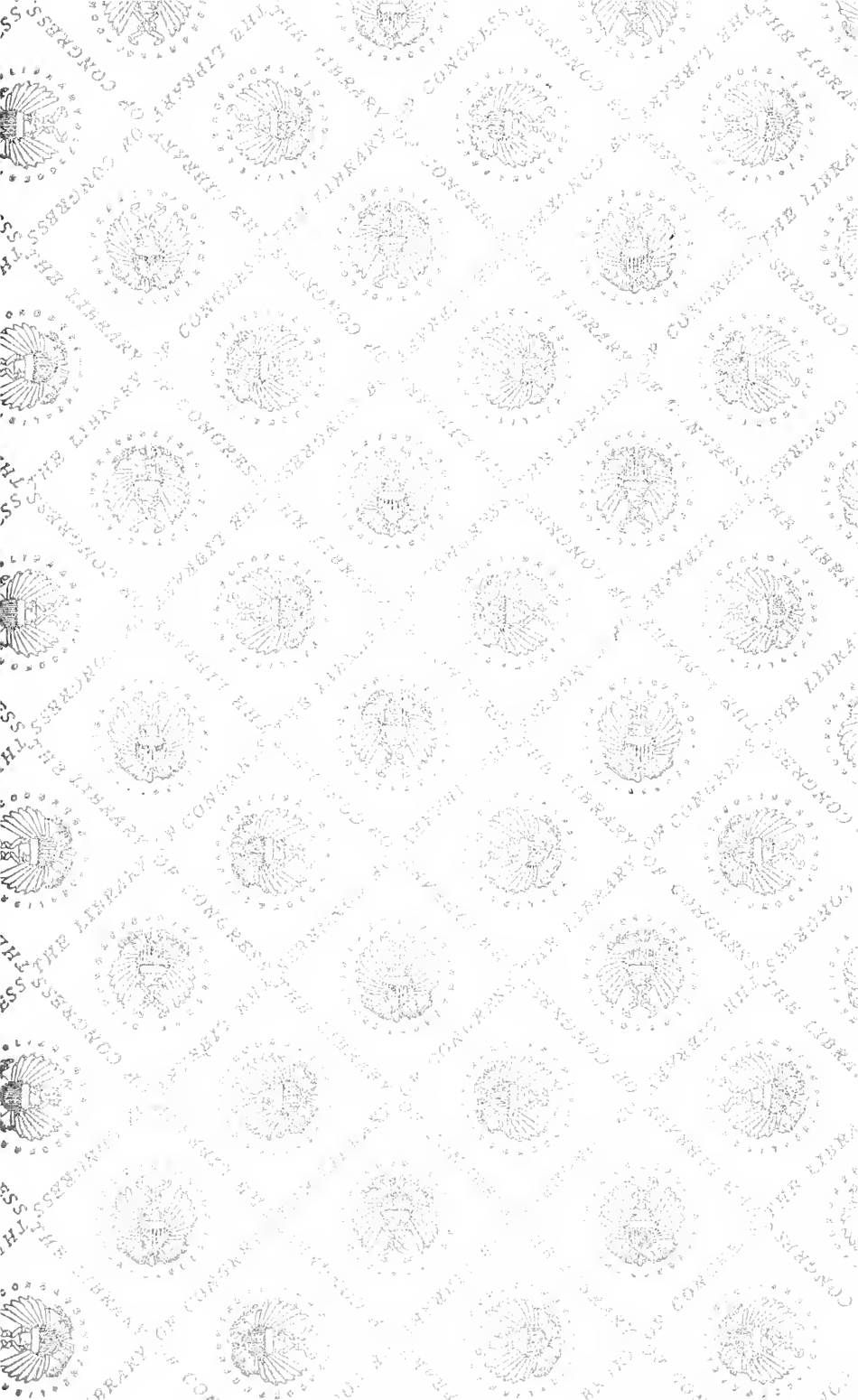
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A

# REVIEW

OF

## AN ANTI-ABOLITION SERMON,

PREACHED AT

**Pleasant Valley, N. Y.,**

BY

REV. BENJAMIN F. WILE,

**August, 1838.**

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BY JOHN H. WIGGINS.

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WHITESBORO :

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1838.

## TO THE READER.

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At the solicitation of friends whom I respect as such, and love and honor for their laudable and untiring efforts in behalf of the oppressed, I have undertaken this work.

I make no other apology for its appearance, than that Humanity and Truth required something of the kind.

I do not seek to be a 'pulpit dictator;' but I do seek to check the currency of error. It is an inherent privilege, as well as a christian duty, to rebuke wickedness whether found in high places or low. A minister occupying such a station as the author of the sermon in question, is expected to be right, especially on subjects of vital importance.

By the manner in which this individual has treated the anti-slavery enterprise and its advocates, the public mind, at least portions of it, has been abused and duped by naked assertion received as a matter of fact, without further investigation; considering the source from which they came unquestionable.

In this way abolitionists have been wronged and their motives impugned. To remove false as well as anti-republican impressions in relation to them, is, then, the first object of these pages.

Many who read these remarks are acquainted with the circumstances which led to the delivery of this discourse. I have not time here to repeat them. Allusion may be had to them during the remarks which follow.

In attempting what I have, I am aware I labor under great disadvantages—youth contending with age, experience, and influence. But it is for the sake of humanity and truth, and I trust much in *their* intrinsic merits. In doing it, I have not searched

‘The dim-discovered traces of the mind.’

It is first and fundamental principles, evident as the noon-day's sun, to which the attention is called.

READER, will you hear both sides?

The objections and the remarks belonging to them, are placed immediately preceding the reply for the sake of convenience. Most of the introductory remarks are omitted, being of little or no importance.

It is necessary to state, in this connection, that most of that part of this review which refers to those passages in the New Testament brought forward in the ‘objections,’ is from the pen of Pres. Green, of Oneida Institute. They are distinguished by the usual mark.

J. H. W.

ONEIDA INSTITUTE, October 22, 1838.

Q. C. 171-14

## SERMON.

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DECLARATION.\*—*I abhor slavery. I am opposed to it as a political, a moral and religious evil—as a great sin in the sight of God.*

### OBJECTIONS TO THE COURSE PURSUED BY THE ABOLITIONISTS.

FIRST. The undue prominence which is given to the subject of abolition, is, in my mind, an objection to the course of the abolitionists. Every thing should have its appropriate place.

The church should take a stand against all sin ; but in doing this, we should act, at least, with some discretion and judgment.

The cause of temperance was presented ; the church has met it. She beheld the evil, and has succeeded in washing her hands nearly clean of its pollutions.

But this cause never claimed any prominence over the doctrines and duties of religion. It appeared and was received as religion's handmaid and assistant, and not as religion's dictator and tyrant.—It was under these circumstances that the cause of temperance prevailed both in the church and in the world.

But the cause of abolition appears in a different light, and claims a higher seat in the church of Christ. Its place must be chief or hence, anarchy and confusion immediately ensue. It admits of subordination to no other cause, scarcely to the cross itself. On the other hand, it is the '*sine qua non*' in every thing—in religion, politics, and the world. The minister must consequently bring out the evils of slavery and the advantages of abolition, or he is not engaged in the appropriate work of the gospel ministry. It is predicted at once, that the church will never enjoy a revival of religion until the church and people take the whip of anti-slavery, and ride the hobby of abolition.

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\* The gentleman, before giving his objections, declared, with great emphasis, in the above words, his abhorrence of slavery. How much he is opposed to the institution, will be seen in the course of the following pages.

It has been urged, that the conversion of the world can not proceed until this subject succeed. Hence, many have withdrawn from all other objects and devoted themselves to this. Are we to stop Missions, Tracts, and Bibles, until all the South is abolitionized? This is an unhallowed course.\*

\* In concluding this point, it is asserted in a very vague and unqualified manner, that abolitionists have divided churches. This remark is so utterly, and I may say notoriously groundless, that it is deemed hardly worthy of reply.

The gentleman probably had reference to the Free churches of the city of New York, which have been, it is true, for some time past, in a lamentable condition.

That it is owing to pro-slavery movements more than abolition measures, appears evident to all unacquainted with the circumstances, from the following communication, written by Mr. Davison, of New York, to Mr. Garrison, of Boston, relative to their proceedings.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,—Thinking that the following extraordinary proceedings, which have recently occurred in this city, were of such a nature as to excite your feelings, I hasten to communicate to you the circumstances.

The Rev. Joel Parker, the great apologist for slavery, arrived here about three months since, from New Orleans, and was greeted by an invitation to lecture in the Tabernacle on a Sunday evening, which invitation he accepted, and made his appearance in such a *guise* as would have reminded you of the adage of a wolf in sheep's clothing! This performance was highly applauded by the majority of his auditors, who were of course predisposed in his favor, and being principally members of the church, felt a strong desire to hear a little more perversion of the scripture from this apostate and pretended disciple, and so they made strenuous exertions to have him for their pastor; but finding the abolitionists too strong for them, they sought to accomplish their object by other means; and accordingly they (the colonization members) invited the 1st Free Church to unite with them, which invitation they accepted, and the union took place on the 1st of July, under the joint pastorate of the Rev. George Duffield, a true abolitionist, and J. Helffenstein, a zealous colonizationist.—They commenced their labors together according to their different views, but this union was of course of but short duration; for a large number of the new members felt dissatisfied with the abolition pastor, Mr. Duffield, and the other party experienced the same feelings with respect to the colonization minister. Bickering and dissension were of course the only church business these *devout* colonization *Christians* attended to, and the strife was ended, eventually, by the resignation of both the reverend gentlemen.

Then the darling object of the humane colonizationists stood revealed—the cloven foot was visible, and the ‘very cunning of the scene’ was exhibited by putting the Rev. Joel Parker in nomination for the vacant pastoral charge, which ended on Monday in the election and call of that BENEVOLENT gentleman by a small majority of the members. I understand that our friend Lewis Tappan, and the other true friends of liberty of both colors, will not remain amongst this nest of unclean birds.

The third free Presbyterian church has, within the last month, been discontinued as a free church, and the pews have been offered for sale. Of course, a question arose whether the colored people would be allowed to purchase seats. The matter was decided by a vote next to unanimous, that the colored people should not be allowed to purchase seats, (there being but two dissenting voices.) So they are sentenced to sit in a corner up in the gallery. So ends the chapter of American prejudice; or perhaps these pro-slavery Christians in the plenitude of that charity which they boast and so liberally bestow on *themselves* will call it benevolence or philanthropy.

One is inclined to wonder by what machiavelian art all this train of events has been accomplished for the furtherance of evil; but the wonder will cease when you learn that Mr. Mor  , of the N. Y. Observer, and Mr. Hale, of the Journal of Commerce, have connected themselves with this congregation within the last three months so that the whole influence of satanic policy and jesuitical cunning was put in requisition in both churches by these gentlemen and kindred spirits.



## REPLY TO THE OBJECTIONS.

Admitting the first remark as a matter of course, and as identical with the axiom 'order is the first law of nature,' the force of the objection appears to be this: Abolitionists make the abolition of slavery an object of special effort. Now, no reasonable man will deny that the church should take a stand against *all* sin. That it has not and *does* not, has become almost a radical evil, over which the Christian is constrained to weep. The christianity of the apostolic and primitive fathers has almost dwindled away, and a temporizing spirit has crept in, and, like a plague-spot on the soul, wasted its most vital energies. Sin stalks with its brazen head in our churches, and hides its hateful form in our pulpits. In many cases the church has become a great refuge of lies, and oppression has found its firmest stay in many of its members. But, in this case, there are many happy exceptions—a few who love the truth and walk in the ways of the Lord. Such are those who occupy the front ranks of *most* of the benevolent operations of the day. These societies or combinations of Christians, concentrate the best energies of the church to destroy the strong-holds of satan, and form an excellent test of the genuineness of the Christian profession. They have had the same effects as the persecutions of the first and second centuries. They have sifted the church, brought out into vigorous action what was holy, and exposed what was false and hypocritical.

In proof of this, mark for a moment the introduction and progress of Moral Reform. The church is *nominally* opposed to the violation of the seventh commandment, yet for years this sin, with all its ten thousand concomitant evils, has increased with fearful rapidity, until fair virtue wept at the desolation of her offspring—and nothing effectual was done until a McDowall appeared as her devoted advocate, and laid down his life a sacrifice upon her altar. Yet McDowall found his bitterest foes among nominal Christians, and the church was found to be opposed to this sin, as it is to slavery, in the *abstract*.

The same may be said of the Temperance Reform. Church members looked upon it as a wild, visionary and fanatical scheme. But the truth was, Bacchus had erected his altar in the holy sanctuary, and often had his most servile devotee in the pulpit; and instances have been known where the minister has taken the *bottle* in the sacred desk, that he might be filled with the '*spirit*.'

How, then, the question naturally arises, have these two evils, to a great extent, been stayed, and their threatening tide rolled back?—I answer, by assuming that very position which the gentleman has

termed an 'undue prominence'—by taking the very course which abolitionists have adopted.

In the Temperance Reform, societies were organized, tracts, papers, and books were published and scattered throughout the country, agents were employed, and some of *them*, even left the 'appropriate work of the ministry.'

Temperance was a prominent doctrine in the sermon, in the prayer meeting, and in the church. Such an array of opposition, met every where, under all forms, this hydra monster could not resist.

After all, it was this 'undue prominence,' or what more classical scholars would call *ultraism*, that breathed out upon this man-destroyer the death-damps of cold water. In this cause, what was considered the duty of the minister? To bring out the evils of *intemperance* and the advantages of *temperance*. Every church member was considered as morally bound to aid in that benevolent enterprise.

In this connection, it is no more than justice to state that in this respect the Rev. gentleman has literally performed his duty. I know of no man who has 'whipped' the 'hobby' of temperance with more zeal than himself.

But in what respect does temperance differ from abolition? Surely the difference is not so metaphysical as the gentleman, in another part of his discourse, would have us to infer. It consists only in the evils which it aims to subvert. The same means, as every candid reader will at once admit, must be adopted, viz. moral suasion, which is truth applied to the conscience, either orally or by means of publications.

Intemperance is a small evil compared with that which crushes and annihilates the religious and political interests of nearly *three millions* of intelligences.

The drunkard, in most cases, becomes such deliberately and *voluntarily*; the slave is made such by the strong arm of power which ranks him with chattels and *things*. The children of inebriates may escape the evils of their parents; but the child of the slave is consigned, from the first moment it looks on its mother, to a hopeless bondage, or perhaps made an article of merchandize before its birth. This is the evil which claims the attention of the American church, calling upon it to rescue the down-trodden and oppressed.

Abolitionism, a word which many regard with pious horror, in its broadest sense, is nothing more than the *right* of the slave and the *duty* of the master, and, as a matter of course, the right of the slave to be heard, and the duty of a minister and church to hear him.

This, the gentleman has treated as something singular or strange, and almost insinuates that he would be moving out of his proper sphere, if he should plead for the dumb ! Yet there is no doctrine more plainly elucidated on every page of the Bible, than this—the duty of Christians to expose sin and bring out the advantages of reform. Whose duty is it, more emphatically than the minister's, thus to present the truth ? Slavery he acknowledges to be a 'political, moral and religious evil.' If so, the abolition of that evil must be a political, moral and religious good or '*advantage*.'

Here, then, the conclusion is unavoidable, from his own concession, that since he has not brought out the advantages of reform on this subject (slavery,) he is reckless to any and all of these points.

What is the appropriate business of a minister, other than to subserve the interests of humanity ? To whom may the slave look for sympathy, if not to the accredited ambassadors of Christ ? To sympathize with miserable man, the incarnate God died on the cross !—Are his followers wiser than He ?

Is it, then, a reasonable objection to the course of the abolitionists, if they urge or demand—what ?—Why, that ministers of Christ should not perjure themselves by violating a most solemn oath, 'that they will lift up their voice as a trumpet against the sins of the people—to preach the gospel to every creature.' Do they preach the gospel to every creature, when they exclude nearly one sixth of the population of the United States ?

But abolitionists never have desired that the subject of emancipation should absorb every thing else, or, to quote the words of the gentleman, become a '*sine qua non*.' And this objection comes with a very ill grace from one who discards it altogether. The friends of the oppressed have only wished the minister and people to take the same stand against the sin of slavery that they do against theft, highway robbery, adultery, murder and cruelty, of which American slavery is the sum total—that the minister should preach against it, and in behalf of the oppressed ; and their claims are no greater than those presented by the friends of Temperance or Moral Reform, which have been readily admitted. But if the magnitude of the evil which abolitionists aim to destroy, adds any weight to their claims, their appeals are tenfold more urgent upon the Christian church to be up and doing. Abolition is a primary doctrine of the 'cross,' and if ministers are so *discretionary* (?) as never to speak about or admit it in their sermons, their religion is a mere sham—the outside—while

they have not tasted the kernel. If 'anarchy and confusion ensue,' because abolition seeks its proper place, the *disorganizers* are on the side of its opposers. The Sadducees and priests styled Peter and Paul 'disturbers of the people.' So infidels say the Bible has been the cause of much bloodshed. But who shed the blood?—were they Christians or infidels? So with anti-abolitionists: after they have destroyed the church, and made bankrupt their own Christian character, a hue-and-cry is raised against the abolitionists. Verily, the gentleman is *conscientious* 'beyond compare.'

But it is asked, "*Are we to stop Missions, Tracts, and Bibles, until all the South is abolitionized?*" By no means. Yet it is certain the world can never be converted, and the millennium usher in its glories, until slavery is abolished. But what is it to abolitionize the South? The *gist* of abolition is to mission-ize, tract-ize, and bible-ize it.—These are integrals of this wonder-working word; and when we talk of abolitionizing the South, we mean to christianize it, and deliver it from down-right heathenism. But abolitionists *do* say that it is sheer and superlative inconsistency to send Missionaries, Tracts and Bibles to heathen in a distant country, when it is made penal to do the same to three millions of heathen in our own land. Is this not good logic—aye, a matter of fact? 'A bitter fountain can not send out pure and sweet waters.'

That religion of the South which sanctions slavery, is nothing more than the direct despotism baptized into nominal christianity—armed with the weapons of destruction. Who of the heathen would receive that gospel which sanctions the enslavement of its converts, if perchance they had a skin not colored like its advocates? Granting the objection to have all the force possible, it would be better that the missionary wheels should revolve slowly, until this mighty evil is destroyed, than that they should be clogged hereafter, and groan under a back-water of moral impurity. Already has religion become as a stench in the nostrils of the unchristianized world and its advocates treated with scorn and contempt. Why is it? Because we have sent among them gore-sprinkled bibles, blood-dipped tracts, and missionaries sustained with the proceeds of slaveholding. Because abolitionists wish to wipe off these stains, they are denounced as fanatics. But I am not willing to admit, even for a moment, that such is the case. Abolitionists are the most zealous supporters of the bible, tract and missionary causes, and their every-day efforts are proof positive of this assertion. That their operations are more extended, benevolent and universal none can deny.

The slaves of the South are, by the confession of slaveholders themselves, heathen ; and what authority do *certain* ministers adduce to justify them in debarring them of the light of the gospel? \* No such authority is found in the Bible, and consequently it must be of man, who so often 'deviseth wickedly.' Not so with abolitionists; they gather all under the *same* banner of the cross, and bid them look on HIM who was crucified thereon, and live. Those who are to be co-workers with God in converting a revolted world and cheering up the waste of the desert with the song of the redeemed, must, from the necessity of the case, adopt abolition principles. It is an unchanging element of our religion to shed its blessings irrespective of persons. The principle of *universal love to man*, in whatever condition he may be found, is the *elixir vitæ*, or very vitality of Christianity. It is a generic principle, out of which branch all the other beauties of the gospel system.

To say, then, that abolitionists claim too much prominence for their principles, when they ask for the same privileges and rights for the negro which are readily granted to the white man, and which Heaven has given to both, is disgraceful to a holy religion, and a libel on the character of Jehovah.

To talk of using 'discretion and judgment' in returning these original and inherent rights to their owners, is like *temporizing* with the sinner when hell with its terrors roars beneath his feet.

To talk of abolition 'claiming prominence over the doctrines and duties of religion,' is the highth of absurdity and the superlative of nonsense. The exercise of the one is the exercise of the other—they are one and inseparable.

In relation to the prediction 'that a church will never enjoy a revival of religion until they admit the claims of the slave,' it would be well for the gentleman to consider facts on the subject. True, it would be somewhat preposterous to say that unconditional barrenness would curse a church, unless most of its members were '*technical* abolitionists;' but, on the other hand, it is equally true, that in revivals, church members generally have more of the pure spirit of abo-

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\* To prove this assertion, let me refer the reader to the following extract from the 'Report of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia,' published in the Charleston Observer, March 22, 1834:—

'From long continued and close observation, we believe that their [slaves'] moral and religious condition is such as that they may justly be considered HEATHEN of this Christian country, and *will bear comparison with heathenism in any part of the world.*' 'Not one twentieth part attend divine worship on the Sabbath.'

litionism, and there is less respect of persons and more love for suffering humanity exhibited, than at any other time. And again, it is equally true, no church ever prospers without admitting abolition principles in the main. But if we would see the effects of proslavery influence, we must look to the South. Moral desolation broods like the spirit of night, over the land. The angel of destruction has passed over it and infused into the air the ingredients of moral poison. The voice of blood cries from the ground, and the Genius of Religion has taken its flight, and, like another Sodom, the sins of its people cry for vengeance. Churches are blighted, unholy sacrifices offered on Jehovah's altar, and the walls of his house are bedaubed with untempered mortar. Within the very precincts of southern churches, are nearly three millions of wretched and degraded heathen—miserable, forlorn outcasts. Tell me, if pure and undefiled religion has its seat amid such moral ruin. When the rose blossoms in the desert, or the sower reaps his harvest from the icebergs, then may religion flourish, paralyzed by the poisonous breath of slavery. The present state of southern churches furnishes a humiliating spectacle to the world as well as a convincing one, that religion and slavery are incompatible.

The same effects are seen at the North in the same proportion as the influence of slavery has been felt. In many churches religion has become merely nominal and their light obscured, while in others it burns dimly and their influence is small. On the other hand, it is a fact, that most of those churches which have admitted the claims of the slave, have had precious and repeated revivals of religion;—and religion no where exists in such purity as it does in some of our western anti-slavery churches.

These things are not only reasonable, but matters of fact, which the statistics of these churches ably sustain. In view of these facts, it would be well, if the gentleman would study the welfare of his Zion, to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.'\*

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\* The gentleman, in concluding his point, as the reader will perceive, asserts 'that many have withdrawn from all other objects and devoted themselves to this.' Perhaps he had a case in his mind at the time, but I do not know and have not heard of any such instance. At all events no one will pretend to justify an individual in withdrawing *altogether* from one good cause, to subserve *entirely* the interests of another.

## SECOND OBJECTION.\*

I am opposed to modern abolitionists, because they are opposed to the cause of colonization. To give you the object and views of this society, you will permit me to give an extract from an English abolitionist, Rev. Dr. Reed, who visited our churches a few years ago.† I may not be prepared to subscribe to all the tenets and measures of the Colonization Society; but I am a decided friend to the great design it has in view. Its object is to remove all the colored people who desire to go, to their own country. They have already returned thousands, who are blessing with religion and civilization the benighted continent of Africa. We stole the colored man from his father's country, and if he desire it, we will take him to the continent from which we brought him. We return him, blessed with religion and the arts of civilized life. This is restoring him four-fold for what we have taken.

The Colonization Society regard him here as suffering under a wicked prejudice. He is thus debased, forsaken, and as it were alone. They take him from this land of strangers and prejudice, and return him to his native soil to exert a great influence on the dark spots of Africa.

But abolitionists have taken a great dislike to this scheme; they

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\* This is not the next point in order as the gentleman delivered it, but is inserted next for special reasons.

† The following is the extract alluded to in the above. This is only a very small part of what Dr. Reed says in regard to the Colonization Society. He gives what is the 'ostensible object,' while he disapproves of it in most intelligible terms.

'The more ostensible means for their relief, which have been created by the force of public opinion, are to be found in the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies.—The Colonization Society is the elder of the two, and originated in a pure motive of compassion for the slave. It proposes to establish a free colony on the coast of Africa, and by this means to confer a benefit on a country which has been wasted by our crimes, and to open a channel to the slaveholder to give freedom to his slaves. Its founders hoped that the movement thus made, while it brought the direct blessing of liberty to many, would indirectly, and without stimulating the prejudices of the planter, familiarize the common mind with the inherent evils of slavery, and thus contribute to ultimate emancipation. For many years this was the best and the only remedy offered to public attention, and the benevolent, of course, took hold of it; and it has at present (1835) the concurrence of New England, and of the intelligent and influential in most places.'

In another paragraph Mr. Reed remarks:—

'The Colonization Society may have been well as a harbinger of something better; but it was never equal to the object of emancipation, and is now below the spirit and demands of the day.' \* \* \* 'It has lost a great measure of public confidence.' \* \* \* 'As a *remedy* for slavery, it must be placed amongst the grossest of all delusions. In fifteen years it has transported less than three thousand persons to the African coast; while the *increase* on their numbers, in the same period, is about seven hundred thousand! By all means let the Colonization Society exist, if it will, as a Missionary Society for the benefit of Africa; but, in the name of common honesty and common sense, let it disabuse the public mind, by avowing that it *does not pretend to be a remedy for slavery.*'

call it pro-slavery, because they will not denounce slavery as much and as long as abolitionists do, because they receive the slaveholders into their ranks, and because, in one word, colonization is to abolition what Mordecai was to Haman. All the conduct of modern abolitionists, say they, can not live, unless colonization dies! Hence, they have raged with the madness of the wildest mania against it. They have dug its grave again and again, and have as often chanted its funeral dirge; yet, strange to tell, it lives and increases in stature and importance every day, while, as to its influence, the other is actually on the wane—the funds of the former increasing, while those of the latter are actually decreasing.

#### REPLY.

The gentleman, at first, was emphatic in expressing his abhorrence of slavery, but now asserts himself a decided friend to the great design of the Colonization Society—the legitimate child of slavery, and firmest pillar of oppression. It is founded upon prejudice, and nourished with its poison. Its design is, not to abolish slavery, but, on the other hand, its great object is ‘to fortify that institution.’ It offers not the least hope to the slave, but wars against all his interests.

Many, no doubt, are ready to question the assertion, that colonization was designed to support slavery; but to prove this we need only the declarations of colonizationists themselves.

Hon. H. A. WISE, of Virginia, a stanch and able defender of the original design of the Colonization Society, states thus:—

‘I became the zealous and active friend and advocate of the *great original principles* of the design to *SECURE* and *FORTIFY* the institution of slavery itself, by colonizing the free people of color, *particularly those of the slaveholding states*, on the shores of Africa.’

Indeed, it never so much as hints at the abolition of slavery in any one of the articles of its Constitution. The second article, which states the object of the society, reads thus:

‘The object to which its attention is to be *exclusively* directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our own country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the general government and such of the states as may adopt regulations upon the subject.’

Here then, we have its object—to remove the *free* people of color, those *free* from slavery, into a strange land. To prove that it has not yet swerved from its first design, we adduce the following quotations from eminent colonizationists. And mark how studiously they keep



aloof from the question of slavery. Speaking in reference to the Colonization Society, the Hon. Henry Clay, a slaveholder, and President of the Society, says :—

‘It was not proposed to deliberate on, or consider at all, any question of emancipation, or that was connected with the abolition of slavery.’

‘The Society aims at the removal of the free persons of color. *It interferes in no way whatever with the rights of property.*’—[Speech of G. W. Curtis.]

‘So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, *the measure proposed* would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.’—[John Randolph.]

‘Our Society has nothing to do directly with the question of slavery.’—[Gerrit Smith, Esq.]

‘It interferes in no case with the right of *property.*’—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 39.]

‘Their [colonizationists’] operations have been confined to the single object—colonization. They do nothing directly to effect the manumission of slaves.’—[Mr. Key’s Address.]

Please pay particular attention to the two following and last quotations on this point :—

‘The American Colonization Society has, at all times, solemnly disavowed any purpose of interference with the institutions or rights of our southern communities.’—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 387.]

‘It is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves or touch the rights of property.’—[Report of Kentucky Col. S., A. R., page 81.]

From the above—the testimony of colonizationists—it may be plainly seen that it is no object of the Colonization Society to ameliorate the condition of the slave. But, on the other hand, it is one of the greatest barriers to immediate emancipation. It not only thus obsequiously pledges itself not to meddle with the ‘domestic institutions of the South,’ but in a base and cowardly manner promises not to make any efforts to destroy that wicked prejudice against the negro, which grinds him in the dust. To prove this, read the following from one of its leading members, Mr. Archer, of Virginia :—

‘The object, if he understood it right, *involved no intrusion on property, nor even upon prejudice.*’ It promises ‘to consult the wishes and respect the prejudices of the South,’ and promises the utmost protection to slavery—a system full of blood, or what the immortal Wilberforce calls, ‘the full measure of pure, unmixed, unso-phisticated wickedness.’

How then can a minister of the gospel give his support to a society

of this kind—one that not only stamps its seal of approbation upon an institution wicked as it is cruel, but pledges itself to frown upon, or, to use the exact words, ‘TO PASS A CENSURE UPON ABOLITION SOCIETIES in America.’ Is it possible that the pulpit is thus false to its trust? Alas! ‘Truth has fallen in the streets, and equity can not enter.’

The gentleman first declaring his abomination of slavery—then railing against a society, the express object of which is to abolish it—then a decided friend to a society which does not even pretend to such an object. ‘O! consistency, thou art a jewel!’

If the gentleman is a real and not a pretended friend to the cause of human rights, common honesty will force him to take a stand with the abolitionists.

During the time which that society has been in operation, it has hardly brought one slaveholder to repentance, or removed one half even of the superannuated slaves. But fetters have been riveted on thousands—aye, millions.

But, the gentleman may say, this is a ‘tenet’ which he can not subscribe to. Yet this is the leading characteristic of that society, and its grand design is, from the testimony of its own members, ‘to fortify the institution of slavery.’

Again—it is stated, ‘their [colonizationists’] object is to remove all the colored people who desire to go’ &c.; that is, a free man must consent either to a horrid system of expatriation, or remain in his own land and be abused, insulted, and even enslaved. This is the beauty—or I might, in the inflated style of its advocates, call it ‘the circle of philanthropy.’ It is benevolence of a very romantic character; it is subserving the ‘cause of liberty, of humanity, of religion,’ with a vengeance!

But the Colonization Society is basely hypocritical, or, in the language of Garrison, ‘a creature without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless and unjust.’ True, its ostensible purpose is ‘to remove the *free* people of color with their consent;’ but in fact it is very different. It is by force that these miserable beings are to be removed, and it is nothing but bare-faced hypocrisy to pretend to do it any other way. Colonizationists, if they have not created, do maintain a wicked, wide-spread and deep-rooted prejudice against the colored man; and by it he has been persecuted, and his life blood sought after. It has united the slavedealer, recreant minister and northern apologist together, and hunted him like a partridge on the mountain, till, for the sake of peace, he would be compelled to go

to Africa. In nearly all the States, cruel laws are kept rigidly in force, depriving the black man of common privileges, and annihilating most of his home-bred rights.

They are by law kept in ignorance and degradation, debarred from most of the schools, seminaries and colleges in the land. Even any attempt to instruct this unfortunate people, is met with the grossest insults and disrespect. Every one will recollect what reckless hostility was vented against Miss Crandall, for desiring to set up a school for colored females in Canterbury; also the breaking up of the school at Canaan, New Hampshire.

But I do not mean to rest the question on these circumstances merely. The testimony of colonizationists to prove that the phrase '*with their consent*' is nothing but sounding words, is conclusive. Hear the report of a slaveholder:—

'Colonization in Africa has been proposed to the free colored people; to forward which, a general system of persecution against them, *upheld from the pulpit*, has been legalized throughout the southern states.'

Hon. Mr. Broadnax, of Virginia, too, *honestly* says:

'It is idle to talk about not resorting to force. If the free negroes are willing to go, they will go. If not willing, they must be *compelled* to go.'

Again—mark with what familiarity and confidence the same gentleman speaks on the subject; it is true colonization:—

'*Who does not know* that when a free negro, by crime or otherwise, has rendered himself obnoxious to a neighborhood, **HOW EASY IT IS TO VISIT HIM SOME NIGHT, TAKE HIM FROM HIS BED AND FAMILY, AND APPLY TO HIM THE GENTLE ADMONITION OF A SEVERE FLAGELLATION, to induce him to go away.**'

Again—

'I have certainly heard, that all the large cargoes of emigrants, lately transported from this country to Liberia, all of whom professed to be willing to go, were rendered so by some *such ministration*.'

Says Mr. Breckinridge:—

'They sent out two ship-loads of VAGABONDS, (*missionaries!*) not fit to go to such a place; and they were coerced away, as truly as if it had been done with a cart-whip.'

Thus much for the charity of the colonizationists. Their object is to drive, aye, to lash, if need be, the free colored American into Liberia, or some other barren or burnt district of the world. The thing is, to get them out of the way; the welfare of the negro is not consulted at all. *Here* they are nothing but 'chattels;' move them *to Africa*, makes these '*things*' heralds of salvation. Banish them—

like the wicked Jews they cry, 'away with them, away with them.' This is colonization, conceived in, and brought forth full-grown from perdition.

But, says the gentleman, 'they have already returned thousands, who are blessing with religion and civilization the benighted continent of Africa.'

He is certainly not a very attentive reader of colonization publications. One of them states,\* that 'cargoes of these emigrants have been thrown ashore, without shelter or efficient medical aid, *to die by scores!*' The legitimate results of such foreign colonization has been disastrous in the extreme. A deadly hostility between the natives and the emigrants has existed, and has desolated again and again the colony. The poor natives have been cheated and murdered by the colonists. The history of the King Joe Harris' war is familiar to most of us—a war characterized by the most savage cruelty and injustice. We well remember the horrible account of another war, given by Rev. Mr. Ashmun, which cannot be described better than in his own words. Speaking of the natives, he says:—

'Eight hundred men were here placed shoulder to shoulder, in so compact a form that a child might easily walk upon their heads, from one end of the mass to the other, presenting in their rear a breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only thirty to sixty yards distance. *Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh!*' Is there moral power in 'cannon balls, guns, gun-powder, and rum, spear-pointed knives and cutlasses,' that will christianize Africa? What downright wholesale murder! Yet its authors are those who, as the gentleman says, are blessing Africa with religion! Oh! how men will degrade that religion which is so exalted, heavenly, pure, and which 'worketh no ill.' Those whom Henry Clay terms 'nuisances,' Mr. Breckenridge 'vagabonds,' are to be evangelists to Africa, to reform the natives, who, from the testimony of colonizationists themselves, are hardly as 'degraded' and 'vicious' as the free colored people.

Those who are here '*lawless,*' '*revengeful,*' '*cut-throat*'-ish, and, by some profound physiologists, the connecting link between the orang-outang and humanity, 'the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned,' 'stirrers-up of sedition and insurrection,' are to be *Missionaries!* They are to be made pious, humane, mild, devoted, industri-

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\* Liberia Herald, August, 1837.

ous, and dignified, by transportation, or some other salt-water process. What confusion worse confounded! But who are to support 75,000 missionaries per year? [This is the annual increase of the free colored and slave population.] Who are to furnish \$125,000,000—the *minimum*, to colonize two and a half millions of people in Africa?—No small sum, indeed!

But let us examine colonization statements in reference to the operation of the gentleman.

Almost the first intelligence from the colony is, that ‘ignorance and an invincible prejudice had wrought up’ these pious missionaries, ‘to a blind and furious excitement of the worst passions,’ and they ‘were obliged to taste some of the bitter fruits of anarchy,’ and barely ‘escaped those tragedies of blood (!) which can find no parallel, but in the history of the civil murders and devastations of St. Domingo.’ This is colonization—civilization! But soon the intelligence comes, the missionaries have become apostates, and ‘there must be a great revolution before it [the colony] can have a salutary influence on the surrounding natives.’ Next, we hear they must ‘have a work-house for confining licentious females, and other disorderly and lazy persons.’ Next, ‘the natives are disgusted with their immoralities.’ Next, ‘the colony is flooded with a great number of ignorant and abandoned characters.’ Next, the missionaries have thrown aside their Bibles and tracts, ‘and they are either used as waste paper, or made food for worms.’ ‘Soon, however, the curtain falls, and the fantastic scene is ended.’ Mr. Pinney, the agent at Liberia, frankly states, that after some fifteen or twenty years, ‘nothing has been done for the natives hitherto, by the colonists, except to educate a few who are in their families in the capacity of servants.’ (Wonder if they were not slaves?)

But the trickery of the scene, and the secrets of this modern inquisition house, are not all yet discovered. Many of the colonists have turned SLAVEHOLDERS, AND TRADESMEN IN HUMAN FLESH. Chief Justice Jescott, of Sierra Leone, stated in 1830, ‘that the colony established for the express purpose of suppressing this vile traffick, was made a mart for carrying it on;’ also, ‘that within the last ten years, twenty-two thousand Africans had been located in the colony by Britain, and that now there are not to be found in the colony, above seventeen or eighteen thousand men.’ Thus leaving between four and five thousand to be carried off by disease, ‘*in a healthful and salubrious climate*,’ or kidnapped and exported by slave-dealing missionaries. It is reported, that in 1833, ‘one of the schoolmasters

in Sierra Leone was tried for selling some of his scholars!’ (*Pedagogue philanthropy, forsooth*. ‘The stupid blockheads can not learn even in Sierra Leone.’) The slave-trade has actually been carried on with great activity, and ‘slave factories are established in the immediate vicinity.’ This is the way they are christianizing Africa. Yet, in the very teeth of these facts, all of them stated by colonizationists, the gentleman declares to his audience, that they are blessing Africa with religion and civilization. How skilled is the reverend author in the ‘mysteries’ of the Colonization Society! What an argument against the measures of the abolitionists! Oh! reason, methinks thou art truly tortured. This is logic with a witness, and would disgrace even a country school-boy. Sophistry and nonsense, which require no extra length of vision to see through.

But hear another remark—an outrage on our common humanity—the expatriation of the colored American is a ‘*four-fold gratuity*.’ Reader, mark this avowal of hard-heartedness and tyranny, which would look out of countenance the southern slave-driver. A ‘*four-fold gratuity*’ to enslave the father and his children, until both are superannuated and worn out with toil, and then banish them to Liberia. A ‘*gratuity*’ to place the slave between two alternatives, either of which is the extreme of cruelty; to give the colored man a choice, either to be transported to the sickly and pestilential climate of Africa, and suffer the horrors of starvation and the untold evils of that desert land, or remain in his own country, abused, insulted, and down-trodden. Is this a ‘*gratuity*?’ Surely the gentleman has given us a *gratuitous* definition of this word. He is quite an adept in the science of hermeneutics.

The colonizationists have no more right to ask the colored man to emigrate to Africa, than the colored people have to ask the whites to remove to England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, France, or to any other country from which their ancestors emigrated. So that, if the colored population should gain the ascendancy, the logic of colonizationists would lead them at once to colonize the whites, and drive them out of the land.

It assists the gentleman very little to bring forward the prejudice which exists against the colored man. *That* all must admit to be wicked; and to encourage colonization, is to encourage that prejudice.

But who are they who are so prejudiced against the negro? Almost invariably they are found to be colonizationists; and they have a *dogma* peculiarly their own—‘*they can not rise here*.’ Why? Because they [colonizationists] will not suffer them. All their measures

amount in the end to this. Abolitionists treat the colored man as a brother, and labor to remove the obstacles which prevent him from 'rising'—to have those laws repealed that are cruel and oppressive. But the dogmatical colonizationist immediately denounces them as 'fanatics,' 'cut-throats,' 'incendiaries,' and 'amalgamators,' and brands them with every other vile epithet which their mother tongue affords. Here then it amounts to selfishness;—because *they* have a prejudice, every one must submit to its fastidiousness, and the free colored man must be banished to Liberia! This is a kind of squeamishness which *all* can not humor.

But why all this declamation about their '*native soil*?' Does it require argument to prove, that *America* is the land of the American slave? Can a man not lay claim to the air he first breathes—to the earth he first treads? On this principle, the phrase American citizen is entirely superfluous and unmeaning; we are all foreigners and sojourners in a strange land. The dignity of citizenship is destroyed, and the gentleman himself must go seek the home of his fathers.

But passing by 'Mordecai' and 'Haman,' (may their spirits forgive the indignity,) whom the gentleman has so unceremoniously introduced to his audience, and the *inference* drawn from the conduct of the abolitionists, he says that colonization is 'increasing,' and abolition on the 'wane.' To discover how far this statement is true, let us examine the latest statistics of both.

First, colonization is increasing. In point of influence, it is notorious that much of it is lost at the North, while at the South slaveholders are its foremost supporters. Many, of the first respectability, have left their ranks within a few years, among whom may be mentioned Gerrit Smith, Esq., Dr. Cox, Arthur Tappan, Pres. Green, W. L. Garrison, and many others, who are now the pillars of the anti-slavery cause. Citizens are losing all interest in the operations of colonization, and in many places are becoming disgusted with it. As an instance, attempts were lately made to form a Colonization Society in Oneida county, which, after some unsuccessful efforts, terminated in what may be called a 'complete failure.' In point of funds, I know of no association more bankrupt. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Society, states at Washington, June 1838, that 'the wants of the society are most urgent. We have a letter before us, from the family of one of the physicians in Liberia, (who has gone a third time to that colony from motives of benevolence,) that are left entirely dependent for support on the salary of the husband and father, soliciting with the importunity of distress, the remittance of

a small amount which has been due for several weeks ; but the society HAS NOT A DOLLAR in the treasury to meet the demand.' Says a writer in the New York Evangelist : 'The contributions and donations in Connecticut for the past years, have averaged more than \$1400 annually, to the Colonization Society ; the last year less than \$200.' And Connecticut, until lately, has been firm in its support of colonization. Instances need not be multiplied to show how far we can rely upon the gentleman's statements.

'The other [abolition] is actually on the wane.' This is one of those stereotyped falsehoods, which abolition opposers dwell upon with much *gusto*. How far the charge is true, will be seen from the movements of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, at its last annual meeting. At this convention, which was of thrilling interest, and held in the same church from which, in 1833, abolitionists were driven by an infuriated mob, 'the pledge from responsible sources, and the collections in cash, amounted to TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS—FOUR THOUSAND OR MORE of which was paid down, and much of it subscribed on the permanent quarterly plan.' Last year the funds raised by the same society at its annual meeting, held in the same place, amounted to less than *four thousand dollars*. 'In the course of the meeting the project of a new paper was brought forward, and subscriptions were obtained to the number of THIRTEEN THOUSAND COPIES per annum.' The cause is making like progress in most of the other northern states, as in the empire state. Now, the statements of the Rev. gentleman are admirable presentations of truth!—admirable specimens of the fairness and honesty of abolition opponents! If this is the way abolition is on the 'wane,' the resurrection will call forth the Rev. Sir from his 'narrow home,' to preach its funeral discourse.—So moral truth has ever been dying away since the days of Christ. Colonization, since it is in the hands of slaveholders, may live until slavery is abolished, but that period is evidently fast hastening ;— '*hic jacit*' will soon be inscribed on the tomb-stone of priest-ridden and bed-ridden COLONIZATION, nearest relative of 'GRANNY SLAVERY,' whose obituary in the West India Islands, has been noticed in most of the anti-slavery papers. It is not necessary to draw any comparison between the two societies. Colonization, a composition of the most heartless professions and love-forced lying promises, and of its father the devil, who was a liar from the beginning, is aptly described by Pres. Green as being 'a pitiful, scare-crow likeness of American slavery—a mere sham.' Oh ! what folly!—what a compound to torture humanity !



'Men who ask our lives to stake,  
In 'Afric's clime' to roam,  
—close their friendship like a *snake*!  
By *biting* us at home.'\*

Oh! it is base, diabolical, infamous, to drive a man from his country because he is tinged with a color different from our own!—thus to blight the hope yet lingering in the bosom of the negro; thus to breathe a cold mist over the soul, and cause the mountain of life to freeze up! Oh! the man who thus loves his fellow—

'Living, shall forfeit fair renown,  
And, doubly dying, shall go down  
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,  
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung.'

### THIRD OBJECTION.

Again—I object to the course of modern abolitionists, because it is calculated to defeat the very object which they wish to secure. But it appears to us, that they are only riveting the chains which they wish to sever. So much coercion has marked their way, that the ears of thousands are now closed to all pleas in behalf of the poor degraded slave. I hesitate not to say, that the best cause in the world would be ruined by the very course that abolitionists are now pursuing. The ears of the South are now closed against us on the subject of abolition, and it is impossible to produce an impression there in favor of emancipation. Abolition unkindness has driven them off. They will neither hear nor read on this subject at present. \* \* \* \* It has stopped the ears of the South. Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, those prominent states of the confederacy, who were on the very eve of abolishing slavery from their soil, are driven back by abolition fanaticism half a century in the degradation of slavery.† \* \* \* \* Several years ago, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church passed resolutions against slavery as a sin;—strong measures have been recommended to rescind them. The New York General Conference have passed strong resolutions forbidding their ministers to join their [abolitionists'] ranks, or to speak out on this subject in the pulpits. Let abolitionists remember they are accountable to God for all the injury they have done the poor slave. They profess to us to

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\* A colored man speaking in reference to the Colonization Society. How much they want to go to Africa!

† This paragraph was stated in another connection; but it corresponds so well with this head, that both are answered together.

have a design to elevate the oppressed ; but they bind tighter their bonds. May God forgive them.\*

#### REPLY.

The gentleman would fain here have us to understand, that he opposes the abolitionists out of pure love to the slave. This, for the sake of rarity, we will call LOVE in the *abstract*. The cry is, 'the measures,' 'the measures!' Opponents of abolition dare not for conscience' sake attack either of the fundamental or general principles on which it rests. So with slaveholders themselves ; they dare not so insult the majesty of Heaven as to make a pro-slavery prayer. The northern apologist, wicked as he is, never prays that Jehovah would crush the principles of abolition, but he will pray that its 'dangerous measures' may be arrested. What real Jesuitical cunning and hypocrisy ! But anti-abolitionists, as much as they denounce 'measures,' can not point out a solitary measure which will not stand the test of reason and the Bible. The Rev. gentleman before us, does not even attempt to prove his assertion, but passes it off with an 'it appears to us,' and two historical facts, as irrelevant as two quotations from Rollin. He presents us with a train of audacious operations, sustained only by his *ipse dixit*. Some of them, indeed, would even stretch credulity itself, and put common sense to *shame*.

In relation to the two facts brought forward, if they prove any thing, they demonstrate conclusively, that those two bodies were lamentably corrupt, and that many of their members have 'bowed the knee to Baal.' Indeed, in regard to one of them, the attempts which have been made are not so singular, since for several sittings, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church has had for its Moderator a slaveholder ! And every one knows, who knows any thing in regard to Methodism, that the present sect under the name of Methodists have very little of the spirit of John Wesley, their founder, who was very fanatical on the subject of slavery. These two facts the gentleman has brought out, and they are very important to the point to which they lean, viz. to expose the corruptions of the American churches.

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\* It must here be acknowledged, that the Rev. gentleman and the editor of the Colonization Herald, have very wonderfully brought forth the same idea, expressed in nearly the same words. Perhaps the editor has had the privilege of the gentleman's manuscript—otherwise the gentleman may have had the benefit of the printed editorial.

The Herald says, 'We conclude by saying, may the LORD FORGIVE YOU—may the sons of Africa forgive you, as an association of the most *designing hypocrites* and *senseless fanatics* that ever troubled a nation's peace, and periled and disgraced a noble cause.'

A religious body at or about Rhinebeck's with a minister at its head, lately passed some resolutions against the American Temperance Society; but does this prove that that society is 'defeating the very object which it wishes to secure?'

The General Assembly passed a resolution to excise a number of Synods and Presbyteries, because they adopted what are called 'new measures;' but does this prove that these 'new measures' will not be instrumental in saving souls? It is absurd thus to reason; such things are wrong, and God will bring their 'wickedness to nought.'

But 'coercion has marked their way,' &c. What is it that the gentleman calls 'coercion?' Why, abolitionists have exercised their inalienable rights, by protesting against *sin*, that most abominable sin—slavery. Because they have exerted a combined and individual influence against this; because they have used the elective franchise for its abolition; because, by the press, they have exposed the secrets of this great Bastille, and from it scattered leaves of light and truth in relation to its evils; and because they continue to do this—'coercion marks their way.' This same coercion has led on the Temperance Reform to glorious results; this same coercion is leading forward Moral Reform; this same coercion, used by the immortal Luther, broke the spell of Papacy; this same coercion has marked Christianity in every step she has taken from the Christian era until the present time. *It is Christianity* thus to attack and expose sin. This coercion is moral power, wielded by moral agents, to destroy moral evil, and its blow is more fatal than the stroke of carnal weapons.

Abolitionists are most distinct in disclaiming any thing like physical force to attain their object. To sustain this, let me refer to the Constitution of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society:—

'ARTICLE 10. The object of this society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state alone has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said state, *yet its aim shall be to convince all men, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interest of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment.*

'This society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color'—how?—'*by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by correcting the prejudice of public opinion*; but this society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.'

These are the principles on which abolitionists act. They are accountable for the results of no other; and whether they would ruin

'the very best cause in the world,' or not, is alone for the logical gentleman to demonstrate. To say that the 'coercion' of abolitionists is other than the constraining power of truth, is, in all its particulars, false, and unworthy the head or heart of an honest man.

The gentleman again makes a tissue of naked assertions, which, as it is a professed declaration of fact, we will endeavor to prove false, viz: 'the ears of the South are now closed,' &c. Strange it is, that he has not yet learned those common events which are as familiar to abolitionists as the English alphabet. He has not yet heard of the 'Elmore correspondence,' or a correspondence between a United States Senator from South Carolina, and one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Anti-Slavery Society. The same Senator sent a request to the anti-slavery office in New York, for a copy of all the publications of that society, which was granted. Soon after another request came from the same Senator for another set of publications for an intimate friend, supposed to be J. C. Calhoun. All this too, from the very hot-bed of slavery. A blessed reaction is taking place in that state, and a desire to examine and investigate anti-slavery principles, is very prevalent. Kentucky, which the gentleman says has been put back half a century, is almost half abolitionized. FIFTEEN THOUSAND or more signed a call for a Convention to consider measures for the abolition of slavery in that state. An Anti-Slavery Society has been formed in Maryland, which has been put back the same length of time by 'abolition fanaticism.' And the leaven, we doubt not, is working in Virginia, and through all the southern states. A St. Louis paper, and the 'Arkansas State Gazette,' published the emancipation in the West Indies. The journal of Thome and Kimball is eagerly sought after, and read with interest. Slaveholders themselves visiting the North, on their return stop at the anti-slavery office in New York, to look at the *incendiary* prints, and study 'abolition fanaticism!' Some have even placed their sons in an institution at the North, which many call the 'hot-bed of sedition.\*' These are undisputed facts; and is the gentleman correct in saying the 'ears of the South are closed,' and that 'it is impossible to produce an impression upon them,' &c.? Abolitionists are not such objects of hate, *even* to the slaveholder, as they are to the Northern apologist, and for evident reasons. Instances repeatedly occur of slaveholders, and men in slaveholding states, writing letters to abolitionists at the North, exhorting them to go forward, with the importunity of *dying men*. Gerrit

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\* There is now at the Oneida Institute, the son of a slaveholder from Florida.

Smith, Esq., states in a letter to the editor of the *Friend of Man*, 'that our peaceful and holy principles are making progress at the South. Numbers of southern men write me so. Already we have true-hearted abolitionists in all the states. \* \* \* One of them attended the anniversary of our State Anti-Slavery Society a year ago, and emancipated his slaves shortly after reaching his home in Louisiana. \* \* \* Another gentleman of Louisiana attended the last anniversary of our society, and at the close of it introduced himself to me—admitted that he had been mistaken as to the character of abolition, and requested copies of our anti-slavery publications to take to the South with him.' A slaveholder, in a letter to the same gentleman, writes thus: '*O my God, hasten abolition, that the time may soon come, when there shall not be a bond-slave in the United States—no, not in the whole globe.*' Another gentleman at the South, in writing a letter to his brother at the North, says: '**SAY TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE NORTH, GO ON, AND NOT CEASE YOUR EFFORTS UNTIL EVERY SLAVE IS FREE.**' He says again: '*Several of his friends are giving freedom to their slaves for conscience' sake.*' Thus, in view of these facts, the gentleman has stated, 'the ears of the South are closed on the subject.' What a miserable subterfuge, to misrepresent things in this manner, and thus dupe the uninformed!

'But they profess to us,' &c. The English of this is, that the Anti-Slavery Society is either a great congregation of hypocrites and reckless fanatics, or gross ignoramuses. What does the gentleman mean? Is this a mere passing sarcasm, or has he assumed omnipotency, and judges his fellow men? Does he claim a prerogative of Jehovah, and has he scanned the secrets of the soul, and found out the hidden springs of action? It is indeed astounding! What a flatulent, windy declaration! What a laborious process of reasoning it required to bring the gentleman to the conclusion, that abolitionists are accountable beings! Yet he states it with as much sangfroid as if it was a novel discovery. Had abolitionists, in their 'course,' exhibited a tithe as much of 'denunciation,' 'censoriousness,' and 'fanaticism,' as has been exhibited, as yet, in this discourse, I would sincerely pity them, and add my hearty '*amen*' to his prayer. But when such wicked taunts, such intolerable distortion and wholesale misrepresentation, such insults to humanity and men who differ in opinion, are exhibited, we are constrained to pray, 'God forgive their authors.' If abolitionists should take the course of their opponents, and render *quid pro quo* the conduct and inconsistencies of some of them, they would be the *corn of sarcasm* and *jest of irony*—the mock of religion and the

sneer of infidelity. If the gentleman was candid, why did he not treat the subject in an argumentative, reasonable, religious manner, and thus convince abolitionists of the 'error of their ways?' Is it christian-like thus to insult them? If they are misguided, the tendency of this discourse, is to drive them on, and in the height of desperation to do much more injury. It is for any reader to say, whether this discourse originated out of love to the slave, or a wicked prejudice against abolitionists and the object of their benevolent efforts?

#### FOURTH OBJECTION.

I object to the course of modern abolitionists, because they exhibit a spirit of censoriousness and denunciation toward those who differ from them, which is contrary to the spirit of Christ.

There are many good men who feel conscientiously opposed to their measures. These men are right in principle on the subject of slavery; they view it as a great evil and plead for emancipation. But they prefer to differ with modern abolitionists in the means and measures to accomplish this object.

They can not give this subject the prominence which abolitionists do. What is the result? They are immediately denounced as pro-slavery, as upholding the slaveholder in trampling on the slave, as courting popularity, as afraid to come out against sin, and refusing to declare the whole counsel of God, as harboring a wicked prejudice against color; and even the piety of churches has been called into question, because they do not come out flaming abolitionists.

Like the misguided disciples, they are ready to say, 'Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?'

This, if I mistake not, is the spirit of abolitionism; such a spirit is at war with the genius of religion, as it is with the good of the poor slave.

But, brethren, these are the champions of the 19th century—the glorious self-styled and would-be reformers!

#### FIFTH OBJECTION.

I object to modern abolition, because I am opposed to the violent and reckless measures which are employed to effect its object.

The man who holds a slave is treated as the worst of all the earth. The inflated abolitionist stands at the North, say a thousand miles from the scene of action, and vociferates to the slaveholder, 'you manstealer,' 'pirate,' 'thief,' 'worse than highway robber,' 'murderer!' Is this the way to convince a man of his sins and bring him to

repentance? We have not so learned in the school of Christ. How did Paul address the slaveholder?—‘Beloved in the Lord,’ ‘believing masters,’ ‘brethren.’ But Paul’s hobby did not go fast enough for modern abolitionists; they are for quicker work, and a shorter cut. Paul said, ‘servants, be obedient to your masters;’—abolitionists say in effect to them, ‘rebel.’ Paul called slaveholders ‘brethren;’—modern abolitionists exclude them from all church fellowship, and cast them out as thieves and robbers. \* \* \* But this reckless course has been the means of driving men of talents and piety from their ranks. Rev. Mr. Kirk, of Albany, and many more who were once with the abolitionists, have left them on this very ground.

When I see such men as Edward N. Kirk, Lyman Beecher, Herman Norton, Jacob Helffenstein, and Joel Parker, directly opposed to the abolitionists, I am led seriously to look at their ways and measures, before I can fight under their flag. \* \* \* Some of their most popular prints are now engaged in controversies with each other, in a mighty conflict of sentiment. One—the *Liberator*—denies the Bible, and does away with the Sabbath, and curses the clergy, while another pleads for them; and among their ranks are to be found some, who wish even to destroy all governments unless they sustain the cause of abolition. It has recently been discovered by some of these wise men, that slavery exists in all the relations of life—the child is a slave to its parents; our rulers are tyrants—their relations should be broken up. Women are said to be too much in bondage to their husbands—doomed to the kitchen and parlor for too many ages; and by the aids of abolition champions, they are about to enter the *forum*, and stand in the *arena* of strife. Their voice must be heard in our legislative halls and senate houses. Thus things are changing under the fanatical course of abolitionists.

#### REPLY.

I bring these two objections together, as they may both properly come under the same head. True, this part is unworthy much reply; it is one of those trite, worn-out objections, which are now numbered with the things which are not. Abolitionists are accused of being ‘denunciatory and censorious.’ Their most sweeping denunciation is, that slavery, under all circumstances, is a sin, and ‘no possible contingency can make it right.’ That this is true, has been long since proved and demonstrated. This being settled, they could not in christian duty, but rebuke those who were implicated in its guilt. Slaveholders, as a matter of course, have been censured sharply for their

abominable sins, and those who connive at them have alike met with rebuke. This spirit, which is the spirit of Christ, has aroused the malignity and hatred of slaveholders and anti-abolitionists, and they have literally gnashed with their teeth upon the apostles of liberty, as did the Jews on Peter. It certainly is not wrong to rebuke sin; it certainly *is* wrong *not* to rebuke it. For consequences we are *not* responsible—they belong to God.

But 'good men' are denounced, &c. Who they are, the gentleman does not say—undoubtedly he includes himself. Who they can be, can not even be surmised. Perhaps they are colonizationists;—among them are many good men, who have their eyes blinded. But when abolitionists denounce the colonization society, they do it to a corporate body, but do not denounce those who conscientiously further its interests. Perhaps they are those who are not colonizationists, but who can not conscientiously go with the abolitionists in all their measures. Such, abolitionists do not denounce. But when those who are *professedly* 'good men,' come out and brand abolitionists as 'innovators,' 'amalgamators,' 'fanatics,' &c., and apologize for slavery, such men abolitionists denounce. Is this a crime? Abolitionists have ever in this particular acted only on the defensive. Their efforts have been to destroy *slavery*; but its apologists have stepped in, and poured out their torrents of invective and obloquy upon their heads. Abolitionists have attacked *slavery*; professedly good men have assailed *them*, and nothing but self defence has caused them to proclaim to the world their true character. They have not 'recklessly' denounced any *man*, but they have denounced his sins and iniquities. The gentleman may then apply the 'blister' to his own conscience, and see if there are not reasons why *he* can be suspected of 'harboring a wicked prejudice against color,' and 'upholding the slaveholder in trampling on the slave.'

To throw back then the charge in his own teeth, I ask, does he suppose that abolitionists have no 'conscience?'—that they have no 'right principles?' Does he suppose he can heap upon them insult after insult, charge after charge, denunciation after denunciation, with impunity? With great self-complacency he must imagine abolitionists a weak-minded body. Sir, if it is no harm to apply scripture to priesthood, 'pull the *beam* out of thine own eye,' and then ask thy brother to pull the *mote* out of his. His strain of sarcasm at the close of this point, is too insipid and harmless to attract notice.

From the next point in connection with this, it appears, that the gentleman is sadly vexed with a *measure-phobia*—betraying itself in



*tender and affectionate* regard for the slaveholder, but in reckless 'denunciation' towards abolitionists. He complains because abolitionists call slaveholders *menstealers*, &c. Has the gentleman never called a drunkard a brute? Has he never compared the rum-seller with the most flagitious characters—even with highway robbers and murderers? Is stealing the bodies and souls of men a smaller crime than dealing in ardent spirits? If recklessness and violence consist in applying epithets, then the veritable author himself has taken little heed to his ways. The following qualifiers in reference to abolitionists are profusely scattered throughout his discourse, 'fanatics,' 'reckless,' 'inflated,' 'denunciatory,' 'violent,' 'rancorous and full of hate,' 'inflamed,' &c. This is modern anti-abolition forbearance and meekness; and now, to use his own pointed logic, 'is this the way to convince a man of his sins and lead him to repentance?' I think not. Yet this is a species of hypocrisy, incessantly perpetrated by the enemies of abolition. A great noise is made if abolitionists call the slaveholder by the proper name (as I shall soon endeavor to show,) of *manstealer*; yet, at the same time, they will treat abolitionists as the refuse of the earth, and heap upon them every kind of insult—and nothing is wrong; they have the spirit of Christ and of Paul! Oh, what arrant hypocrisy!

The gentleman appears to have the idea that abolitionists are accountable for the existence of words. Strange indeed! He never attempts to prove that they are inappropriate, but condemns the abolitionists for using them. The point then is, to prove that these terms properly belong to the slaveholders of the South. If these epithets are true as to the application which abolitionists have given them, this part of the objection has no force whatever.

It is a fact long since settled, that the African slavetrade is *manstealing*; and all European writers have identified slaveholding with the slavetrade—especially Granville Sharp, Adam Clarke,\* and John Wesley, of England, and I may add Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins, of our own country.

Our law, as written in the statute book, is more decisive still, and designates the slavetrade by the term '*piracy*,' or *manstealing* and

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\* I can not but quote the remarks of Dr. Clarke on this subject; and please to observe how '*reckless*' he is in the selection of his qualifying words. '*Manstealers*—whether those who carry on the traffick in men's flesh and blood; or those who steal a person in order to sell him into bondage; or those who buy such stolen men or women, no matter of what color or country; or those who sow dissension among barbarous tribes, in order that those taken in war may be sold into slavery: or the nation which legalizes or connives at such traffick;—all these are *menstealers*.' And he classes them with the most flagitious of mortals.

murder combined. Therefore, the man who steals a negro from the coast of Guinea, is, in the eye of the *American* law, a *pirate*, or a manstealer and murderer. Now, if piracy be the crime which answers to robbery on land, what can we call those who carry on the internal slavetrade, but ‘pirates’ and ‘robbers!’ Says a writer: ‘that the stolen property can never become the lawful possession of the holder who claims it under a title derived from a *thief*, is a principle of law too well settled to admit of disputation.’ The laws of all nations recognize the thief, and the receiver of stolen property, as identified in the same guilt. The maxim, ‘the receiver is as bad as the thief,’ is acknowledged the world over. Ancestral transfer, or inheritance, does not release the holder of stolen property from his share in the guilt. In the purchase of the negro, whether from the slave vessel just arrived from Guinea, or from the auction stand in the capital, there is a *trade*—an act of buying and selling—an exchanging of men, women, and children, for money or barter—a speculation on God’s image—a procuring of subsistence by selling human flesh, whether it be per pound, or per head. This holds good from the fact, that the ‘*article*’ of the trade is stolen property. And it matters not through how many hands the ‘property’ has passed—they are still and ever will be *stolen human beings*, deprived of *personal* liberty by violence and fraud; and he in whose hands these stolen ‘goods and chattels’ (pardon the terms) are found, is a thief. For this conclusion we are not left to the uncertainty of human reasoning, but we have a ‘thus saith the Lord’—‘He that *stealeth* a man, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death.’ The *punishment* of both being the same, their *crimes* in the sight of infinite justice must be of the same turpitude.

Again, those who buy and sell the children of those who were stolen from Africa, are *menstealers*.

‘All men are created free and equal,’ says the Declaration of Independence. (Some men are born slaves, says the chivalrous South.) Taking for granted, what every republican will at once admit, that all are born free—then all the descendants of those originally stolen from their native land, are of right free. Therefore, the man who claims the child of the stolen parent, as his slave, and reduces him to a ‘chattel,’ a ‘thing,’ a piece of property, is a land pirate and man-stealer. This is a matter of course, for the same act, committed in Africa, the law would term piracy. Robbery is the same, whether committed on the high seas, or on the Mississippi river; and man-stealing is the same, whether perpetrated on the coast of Guinea, or

the savannas of Georgia or the Carolinas. 'It is wrong,' says Miss Grimke, 'to enslave an African, born under the most despotic laws, and in the deepest degradation; and is it not wrong to enslave an American, around whom is thrown the great shield of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence?' 'It is a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and that they have certain inalienable rights; among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' David Ruggles, a man of color, speaking in reference to this point, says, 'tell me how many transfers must be made before the recipient becomes innocent, or freed from the original charge.' But slaveholders must not be called *robbers* and *pirates*. Oh no—innocent men—gentlemen and 'Christians;' they *inherited* slaves! What, inherited evils, of all of which the poor original kidnappers must give an account! Oh, if it be so—and if the sin of the son, or the evils of slavery, must go backward, and be visited upon the father—and if there be a purgatory or hell, what concentrated wrath and fury must be the portion of 'original kidnappers!'

These remarks are sufficient to prove that southern slaveholders are 'menstealers,' &c., and that these epithets may be attached to them with perfect Christian propriety. Peter sharply reprovcd the hypocrisy and covetousness of Simon. Paul called Elymas the sorcerer, a 'child of the devil.' He also called the apostle Peter a dissimulator.

The principle of holding men up in their true character, and calling them by their proper names, is fully illustrated by the example of Christ and the apostles. Jesus denounced the Scribes and Pharisees, as 'children of the devil,' (John viii. 44,) 'hypocrites, who devoured widows' houses,'—(suppose it had been, who devoured the slave's earnings)—'blind guides,' 'fools and blind.' These hard words, at the present day, would be called 'vituperations, harsh, censorious,' and 'reckless' language! But Paul not only calls slaveholders menstealers, but classes them with the 'profane,' 'murderers of fathers,' 'murderers of mothers,' 'manslayers,' 'whoremongers,' 'liars and perjured persons,'—(what reckless words.) Yet they come from the pen of inspiration. Christ might have chosen *softer* words; Paul might have selected not quite such harsh epithets. But the course of Christ and of Paul, was to rebuke sin and sinners by their proper names.

Thus much for this point, and thus it is made plain how far behind the spirit of Christ and the apostles, are human-expediency, honey-mouthed apologists for American slavery.

But Paul, it seems, addressed slaveholders in more becoming terms, calling them 'brethren in the Lord,' &c. This address was made to

Philemon, whom the gentleman has yet to prove was a slaveholder. In assuming the position which he has, the only force of his remarks is to screen the slaveholder from rebuke, and palliate his monstrous crimes by distorted scripture.

The gentleman has acknowledged slavery to be an evil, and plainly declared his abhorrence of it. What then? Is slavery wrong and nobody to blame? Upon whom will he fasten the guilt? Here is an hypothesis which metaphysics themselves can not unravel. *Sin without a sinner!* But the declaration has another force, viz: if Paul would address the American slaveholder of the 19th century, as a brother in Christ, and 'beloved in the Lord,' it is evident that he would either connive at sin, or else slaveholding is no sin. Says the apostle himself: 'For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness; and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial; or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel' [unbeliever]? 2 Cor. vi. 14, 16. Hence, from the character of Paul, and the precepts which he has left recorded, we infer that he would not connive at *sin*, or in any way shield the *sinner* from reproof:—therefore, slavery is *right*. Oh, Paul! thou art fallen among robbers and clerical dignitaries—to traduce thee is fair. Paul calling men *brethren*, who practise every species of crime of which they are capable—men who rob other men of themselves, and 'sink immortality into merchandize,' who rob them of their wives and children, who scourge and lacerate, crush and destroy humanity, and daily perpetrate such high abominations as make angels weep and heaven blush, and which would, if God were not merciful and forbearing, hurl them quickly to the lowest hell! Paul an associate of thieves, robbers, murderers, adulterers, fornicators, and breakers of law! How degrading to the great apostle! What a gross libel upon the character of an evangelist of Jesus Christ! Is this religion?—that religion which is *love*, which studies the peace and happiness of MAN, the religion of the cross, of equal rights and privileges! Reader, judge for yourself.

Again, Paul said, 'Servants be obedient to your masters; abolitionists say in effect to them, rebel.'

I had supposed that the objection, that abolitionists preached the doctrine of insurrection, had long since been exploded; but the gentleman has succeeded in resuscitating it, and wields the formidable objection with much confidence. It is evident to every one of common intelligence, that in contesting the doctrines of abolition, he has made in many instances, a light estimate of truth, and has not hesita-

ted to make assertions as wild as the ken of his own imagination. I have on a preceding page, in reply to nearly the same objection, quoted an article from the Constitution of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, disclaiming in the most intelligible terms, any thing like physical force on the part of the slave, to obtain his freedom. A repetition is not necessary. The gentleman must attach a most significant and peculiar meaning to the phrase 'in effect,' or this assertion is a most unqualified falsehood, and unworthy a minister of Christ. Nor is the quotation with which he contrasted the cause of abolition, so forcible as may be supposed. The gentleman, with all his Grecian lore and classic acumen, did not assert that 'servants,' (*δουλοι*, in this passage,) should be '*slaves*.'\*

The passage can have its full and literal application, and I can not conceive how it can, in any manner, give any sanction to the right of the slaveholder over his victim. It is merely an exhortation to economics, and teaches the duties of servants to their employers, while with as great emphasis it demands, that *they* should render unto their 'servants that which is just and equal.'

In relation to the charge that the recklessness of abolitionists has driven from their ranks Rev. Edward N. Kirk, nothing definite can be said. Mr. Kirk is now in Europe, where he has been for some time, else he could answer for himself, and the gentleman would have made his assertions with more caution. Mr. Kirk is still a member of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, and what authority the gentleman has for saying that he has left 'their ranks,' I know not.

The next sentence I will transpose thus: 'I can not fight under the abolition flag, when such men as Dr. Beecher, Herman Norton, Jacob Helffenstein, and Joel Parker, are directly opposed to the abo-

\* This exposition of this verse, many reject, and it does not agree with most of the commentaries.—But shall we receive error rather than truth, because it is taught by the wise and learned? In relation to the word *δουλοι* which many here presumed to mean slaves, I may here state what I intended to do elsewhere. The proper meaning of this word is, one who has been manumitted. The authority for this translation is Chrysippus, a profound philosopher and grammarian, who lived about 80 years before Christ.

These are his words, '*Δουλος* differs from *οικετης*. Those who have been freed are still *δουλοι*—but *οικετοι* are those not set free from being held as property. *Οικετης* is a slave held in possession.' If this is the proper meaning of *δουλος*, modern apologists for the 'divine institution,' must prove that Paul departed from the proper meaning of this word, and attached to it one that was *improper*.

Again—in this passage *κυριοις* is the word opposed to *δουλοι*, 'which,' says Donnegan, is used to denote 'one having authority over others—in reference to that over slaves, *δεδυτοτης* is used.'

litionists ;' i. e., I consult human expediency in preference to divine revelation—I have not sufficient moral courage to come out and breast the torrent of opposition which I should meet ; therefore, I will take covert under Dr. Beecher & Co. Very good indeed—(the bump of *constructiveness* must be well developed.)

This is paying no enviable compliment to these Rev. Sirs. The gentleman has made them 'weather-cocks,' at which he 'seriously' looks to know which way the 'wind is blowing !' Oh, blest is

'He who holds no parley with unmanly fears,  
Where duty bids, he confidently steers,  
Forces a thousand dangers at her call,  
And trusting in his God, surmounts them all.'

Next comes a host of charges, so entirely irrelevant, that I had almost concluded to pass them unnoticed.

Wm. L. Garrison denies the Bible, &c.—Henry C. Wright has some peculiar and ultra views in relation to government—Miss Grimke has asserted the rights of her sex. With all these opinions, abolitionists, as such, have nothing to do ; they are private opinions, for which the individuals concerned are alone responsible ; they are not sentiments admitted into the creed of abolitionists. Wm. L. Garrison, H. C. Wright, and Sarah M. Grimke, are zealous advocates of temperance. Do their opinions therefore belong to the Temperance Society ?—or should that society be denounced on account of them ?—This is indeed lugging logic by the ears.

It is no more than justice, to state in this connection, that Mr. Garrison does not 'deny the Bible, do away with the Sabbath,' or 'curse the clergy.' The principles of Mr. Wright are what are called ultra peace principles, the same which here excited so much interest among all classes. Miss Grimke believes that *woman* is equal with *man* ;—surely this is not very *heretical*, and the gentleman has not much to fear by admitting it to be *true*.

#### SIXTH OBJECTION.

I am opposed to the course of modern abolitionists, because it is opposed to the course pursued on the same subject by the apostles.—The course of modern abolitionists is inconsistent with the conduct of the primitive church in relation to the subject of slavery ; and *here* particularly, I want the mind of the congregation to dwell.

The apostles unquestionably viewed slavery as an evil. It existed in full rigor in their day among the Jews, Greeks, and Romans.—Among the Greeks and Romans, the master had power by law over the life of the slave, and it not only permitted him to inflict all the ill

usage he pleased, but to take with impunity his very existence.—Slavery thus existed in its most cruel and despotic forms, during the labors of the apostles. What course did they take in reference to it? Happy for the church, we have their conduct on record.

The first passage to which I refer, is found in 1 Cor. vii. 21. ‘Art thou called *being* a servant; care not for it, but if thou mayest be free, use it rather.’ The apostle here, undoubtedly, addressed *slaves*. This is clear, first, from the meaning of the word in the original from which the word *servant* is translated. The Greek word is δούλος, and means *slave*. Secondly, the apostle speaks of their slaves in a state of grace, as bought with a price. The use of the term *free* implies that they *were* slaves. Free from what? Free from apprenticeship? No! From common service? No!—this was their calling. But free from the servitude of slavery. This was undoubtedly Paul’s meaning. In this exposition, I am sustained by Henry, Clarke, Scott, and Burkitt. It is plain then to see how Paul treated the subject of slavery. ‘Art thou called being a servant?’—art thou converted being a slave? care not for it; that is, for the circumstances of thy slavery, do not fret and worry—do not insist on thy freedom—but if thou mayest be free, use it rather. If thou canst get thy freedom, get it, prefer it—thou oughtest to be a freeman; and if friends can purchase thee, or if thy master will give thee free, use it by all means. But how different this advice from that of the abolitionists! *They* tell the slave to run away, and he is assisted in every attempt to do so. The abolitionists of New York, I am credibly informed, have appointed a committee of vigilance, to receive and help on all runaway slaves. Now compare this course with that of Paul. ‘Art thou called being a slave? care not for it; but if thou mayest be free, use it rather.’ Is there any attempt there to create disaffection between the master and servant?—to create insubordination and misrule?

The second quotation is from 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2. ‘Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise *them*, because they are brethren; but rather do *them* service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.’ How strikingly did Paul, (in the subsequent verses,) centuries ago, portray the very spirit of modern abolitionism, as it exists among us—‘whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, supposing that gain is godliness.’

\* \* \* Now who does not perceive that Paul and his advice here,

is in direct variance with modern abolitionists? Here the slave is commanded to treat his master 'with all honor and respect'—not to rebel against him, or run away from him. Paul unquestionably did not consider that civil rights were abolished by religion, but that the slave converted, as such, was still chiefly to sustain the same relations to his master, unless by a mutual arrangement between him and his master, he could obtain his liberty.

The last quotation is Paul's epistle to Philemon, a noted slaveholder. The cause of Paul's writing this letter was as follows: Onesimus, a slave, had from some pretence or other, run away from his master, and come to Rome, where the apostle was then a prisoner and preacher. Onesimus came under the influence of truth, and was converted. On this occurrence Paul sends him back to Philemon with a letter, from which we make the following extract: 'Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved and fellow laborer,' 'I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers,' (with a very different spirit, I fear, from that of modern abolitionists,\*) 'hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast towards the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints; that the communication of thy faith may become effectual by the acknowledging of every good thing which is in you in Christ Jesus. For we have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints are refreshed by thee, brother. Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee' (that is the spirit) 'for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds: which in time past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and to me: whom I have sent again:—(do abolitionists ever send slaves back to their masters?)—'thou therefore receive him, that is, mine own bowels; whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel: but without thy mind would I do nothing; that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly. For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him forever; not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh, and in the Lord. If thou count me therefore

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\* This is a most extraordinary allusion, and is the betraying of a restless conscience. Certain members of his church, lamenting the position which he occupied in relation to human rights, often remembered their pastor in their prayers.—This he could not endure, and he construed it into an 'insult,' and caused by a wrong spirit.



a partner, receive him as myself. If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that to mine account ; I Paul have written *it* with mine own hand,—[I have given you here a note of hand. If Onesimus has injured you do not put it down to his account—do not owe him a grudge ;—here I give you a note of hand for all expenses he may have incurred,]—‘I will repay *it* : albeit I do not say to thee how thou owest unto me thine own self besides.’ [Albeit I do not say unto thee, own thyself abased—you are one of my spiritual children in the gospel ; put down all that you have against Onesimus, against me.]—‘Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord : refresh my bowels in the Lord. Having confidence in thy obedience I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say.’

We are led, in reading these paragraphs, to a contrast of the spirit of the two, [Paul and the abolitionists]—the one heavenly and mild, and the other rancorous and full of hate. ‘He therefore departed for a season,’ &c.—Dr. Clarke makes the following judicious remark : ‘This is a most delicate subject—he departed an unprofitable slave for a short time, but so is the mercy of God, he now returns, not an unprofitable *slave*, but a beloved brother in the Lord, to be in the same heavenly family with thee forever. Do not receive him merely as thy slave, nor treat him according to that condition, but as a brother and a genuine Christian, particularly dear to me.’ By pious masters thus slavery is virtually destroyed.

#### REPLY.

The last objection which the gentleman produces, certainly caps the climax, and is the master-stroke of absurdity. The great Paul is made a giant sinner, conniving at American slavery. Is the gentleman opposed to slavery ? Why all this labor to prove that Paul did not rebuke this enormous sin ? Is this course calculated to arouse the slaveholder to a sense of his crime in converting men into chattels ?—or to allay the storm of his conscience and quiet his guilty fears ? I ask the gentleman himself, when would the period arrive for the abolition of slavery, if no one was more opposed to it than himself ? By what species of arithmetic would he calculate the time as it rolled away ? ‘Opposed to slavery,’ forsooth ! So are slaveholders as much ; and the pillars of the earth would rot away, and nature tumble into chaos, ere the first shackle would burst under the hammer of emancipation. Slavery would be transferred to the latest generation, and still they would forge hand-cuffs, manacles, thumb-screws,

padlocks, and irons ; still would American slaves be yoked, chained, kidnapped, tortured, and lashed—and no ray of hope would pierce their dark prison-house. Opposed to slavery!—aye, with a vengeance ! So are *all*, and a century and a half has passed away, and no effectual efforts have been made to remove the evil—but on the other hand, it has increased with the silent growth of the forest oak, huge and monstrous ; and some have come to the deliberate conclusion, that slavery is a divine institution. And Paul himself, according to the Rev. Sir, did not consider it an evil of much consequence.

In replying to this objection, the attention is particularly desired. The gentleman considers it one of the highest importance, and certainly its *refutation* can be no less important. True, slavery existed in Greece and Rome when the apostle wrote ; but Greek and Roman slavery are not the counterparts of that which disgraces this republic.

Roman slaves were generally those who were captured and considered prisoners of war. Criminals also, were sometimes condemned to perpetual servitude as a punishment. Hence we often hear of galley slaves, or those condemned to the drudgery of the galley, either for a longer or shorter period, according to the magnitude of their crimes. ‘But,’ says a writer, ‘*free-born citizens* were not allowed, in ordinary cases, to sell themselves or other *free-born persons*, into this condition. Here then we have a leading feature of Roman slavery—slaves were either those who were once *free-born* and had forfeited their liberty by *crime*, or those taken in battle. How is it with American slavery? Without any forfeiture of his rights on the part of the victim, and without any pretext for the seizing of his person, except sheer avarice, the free-born American citizen, is arrested and dragged into slavery. And his sons and daughters, by virtue of no other title than that derived from a *thief* or *pirate*, are doomed to drink the ‘bitter draught’ and drench their lips with ‘toil-drops’ and blood. Roman slaves had a certain *bonum* allowed them daily. From this source, they often accumulated money enough to purchase themselves in a few years. How is it with American slaves? Says the slave code of the chivalrous South, ‘he [the slave] can do nothing, *possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master.*’\* In ordinary cases, hardly a tithe is allowed the poor down-trodden man of the South, from all the earnings of his toil, to cheer his disconsolate bosom—not a single star of hope pinned on that dark curtain of

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\* Civil code of Louisiana, Art. 35.

slavery which hems him in on every side, and shuts out the light of heaven, to cause him

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‘To feel  
The weight of human misery less, and glide  
Ungroaning to the tomb.’

Roman slavery was rarely so ruthless as to break asunder the ties of woman's love, and wrench from the arms of a parent all his earthly hopes. It did not send the hapless father to northern Gaul, and the frantic mother to southern Greece, while their children were kept to grace the halls of a Cicero or a Caesar at the capital. No; this was a stretch of cruelty which heathen Rome would not countenance. But, reader, how is it with *christian* America? Go, peep into this modern Bastile—not into its dungeons, nor its grated cells—but listen to the heart-breaking cries of the wife, and see the husband wringing his hands in wild despair—his bosom heaves not with vengeance, but his heart is swollen, and the ‘wheels of life’ drag heavily. He is soon forced away—where? He is shipped for New Orleans, and thence is driven to the wilds and swamps of Florida, separated from his wife and family forever. Go, stand by the Mississippi, and see the purchased corgo of MEX float along. What a horrid picture to the eye!—a boat-load of blighted hopes, broken ties, fatherless sons and motherless daughters, forlorn wives and wretched husbands—the domestic circle disjointed, and its several limbs scattered as far as the demon's arm can hurl them. All these are leading characteristics of American slavery—perpetrated daily to a fearful extent.

Greek slavery was similar to the Roman, and although in some places of Greece the slaves were treated with great cruelty, yet in many particulars it would hardly bear a comparison with that which this nation tolerates—(perhaps with the exception of Sparta.) At Athens, when the slave was cruelly treated by his master, he could flee to the temple of Theseus out of the reach of the oppressor. They could hold property, and could purchase their liberty—their masters *nolens volens*. ‘They were also allowed to institute suits at law against their masters, for undue severity in the infliction of punishment, and for attempts on their chastity. But how is it with the American slave? Is not his condition absolutely and hopelessly settled? Is there any temple within whose sacred enclosures there is safety for him? Is there any *law* to which the abused man and insulted woman can appeal for justice? Alas! there is none! They have prison-houses and dungeons, where the fugitive is bolted in. The arm of the oppressor reaches from Maine to Florida; in no part of the confederacy,

is his hunted victim safe. The law connives at the exercise of cruelty upon the slave, and shields the slaveholder from retribution. Females also, are subject to the will of licentious and irresponsible masters. The results of such power may readily be supposed—the southern states are filled with the fruits of amalgamation. More than 16,000 human beings wearing the complexion of the mulatto, are scattered within their boundaries—all of them slaves. The reference to Hebrew slavery in the time of the apostles, is hardly worthy of notice. I imagine that the gentleman would find much difficulty in proving that it existed at all. At that time the Hebrews were subject to the Romans; and many of them were taken as slaves and *exported* into Sicily, Rome, and Sardinia. Thus the analogy of Greek and Roman, to American slavery, is not strict in regard to many of its most important features.\*

The first quotation adduced by the gentleman is found in 1 Cor. vii. 21, ‘Art thou called *being* a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be free, use it rather:’—to which I add the 23d verse, ‘Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men.’

The following remarks on this passage, are taken from the ‘Testimony of God against Slavery,’ pp. 115 :

‘In his letter to the Corinthian church, the apostle Paul addressed himself freely to servants. Would the abettors and supporters of American slavery allow him such a privilege?

2. He teaches them to rise if possible to a state of freedom.—Would the abettors and supporters of American slavery permit him to impress such a lesson on their slaves? Would they not rather brand him as a fanatic; reproach him as an incendiary; inflict upon him the penalty of Lynch law?

3. He teaches them to regard themselves as entitled to the benefits of freemen—and freemen of the most dignified and exalted character. Would the abettor and supporter of American slavery allow his slave to listen to such language? No fears would he have, that they might fall out with their chains, put on airs, and get above their proper places?

4. He charges them, by all the regard they had for their Redeemer, ‘to refuse to be the servants of men.’ Strong and startling language! Would the abettor and supporter of American slavery permit such an exhortation to fall upon the open ears of his slave? Would he not regard it as subversive of the system by which they are held in bonds?

As they value the blood which was shed for their redemption, they may not be ‘the servants of men!’ And this language every servant

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\* I do not draw the comparison between Greek and Roman slavery, and American slavery, in any way to smooth over the thing; but that the reader may see *all* the horrors of Southern oppression.

must interpret for himself! Might he not regard it as a warrant to cast away his fetters? Will the abettor and supporter of American slavery permit his vassals to try their skill at exposition on this passage? If not, perhaps he would consent to hear *father Flatt*, a German commentator of excellent spirit and high reputation, explain it. I have ventured to translate a paragraph, in which he offers his views of its meaning. 'Be not such servants of men, that ye can not at the same time be the freemen of the Lord. Be not the slaves of men, who would force upon you wrong opinions: 1 Cor. i, 12; Col. ii, 8, who would use you as the means of gratifying their passions, or of accomplishing their selfish objects: 2 Cor. ii, 20. Do nothing which is contrary to your dignity or to obedience to God, from sinful compliance to others or from fear.' \* \* \* \*

It is very certain that the apostle requires his servants to prefer death to obedience to such injunctions as might hinder their progress in the christian life. Whatever might contribute to enlighten their minds and quicken their consciences and increase their usefulness, they were eager to lay hold of—and this, at whatever expense. The master, who would cripple, or embarrass, or discourage them in so doing, they must resist, and resist at the hazard of their lives. This clearly is the doctrine which the apostle Paul requires them to receive.

Southern tyrants have their reasons for withholding their Bible from the slave. It is most manifestly and irreconcilably against the oppression they practise. They would burn it over a slow fire sooner than put it into the hands of their bondmen. Their impudence is only equalled by their hypocrisy, in blasphemously pretending that such a book is friendly to oppression. With this pretence upon their lips, they make laws to prevent their slaves from reading it! What do they fear? That it will make these wretched men too well pleased with their condition? No. They know that it would light up in their bosoms such a flame as the waters of the Mississippi could not quench.'

Another writer, in speaking of these passages, gives the following exposition:

'His [Paul's] instructions on this occasion, embrace the following injunctions upon servants:—(1) That they should endure their servile condition with patience, and not disquiet themselves with *sinful* repinings, or *unavailing* solicitude and regret on that account—verse 21. (2) But still if it was possible for them to be free, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασται, they were *required* to secure their freedom, and not voluntarily to continue in the servitude then existing and prevalent—verse 21. (3) 'Ye are bought with a price; *be ye not the servants of men,*' (verse 23,) evidently prohibits the exercise of a servile spirit, and an *undue* voluntary subjection to the authority of man in any relation, particularly that of MASTER or SLAVEHOLDER; on the ground that we are the servants of Christ, and that a due discharge of the duties we owe him, is incompatible with servile subjection to human authority.'

Says a London divine on this passage—('Ye are bought with a

price,' &c.)—‘seek by every lawful means NOT to be in bondage to any man.’ Admitting then that the class referred to in these passages were *slaves*, we have a fair, reasonable, and righteous exposition before us.

Taking general principles, which are in the light of scripture self-evident, as our premises, we can come to no other conclusion, than that the apostles are opposed, opposed most emphatically, to any thing like slavery. In the passages referred to, Paul’s injunctions are not at all directed to the master—he makes no regulation in regard to his *pretended* right; but directs them wholly as a balm of consolation to the wretched beings held in servitude. He tells them to be patient in suffering wrong, and then, in the true dignity and honesty of an ambassador for Jesus Christ, declares him to be a MAN, and fully entitled to the rights of a *man*, and a *freeman*. The gentleman inquires, very quaintly indeed! ‘whether there is any attempt to create disaffection,’ &c., and then exclaims, ‘how different *this* course from that of modern abolitionists!’ His ideas of abolition appear to be all gathered from hear-say, and he sets down all its measures as attempts to create insubordination among the slaves of the South—how?—by declaring that they are MEN and God’s *freemen*. This is the spirit of abolition, and startling as it is to the buyers of human flesh, it is the thundering voice of Jehovah, proclaiming throughout his universe, ‘Ye are bought with a price; be ye not the servants of men.’ Paul has uttered the fearful words, and ‘whether it creates insubordination, misrule, and disaffection,’ or not, the slaves at the South should at this moment be *free*. And were the aged apostle now among the living, the sermon of Rev. B. F. Wile, would brand him as a ‘peace-disturber and preacher of rebellion.’ Here abolitionists have circulated publications throughout the country containing such an incendiary sentence as this. Then the thousands upon thousands now in slavery, and connected with christian churches, and whom the gentleman believes ‘are now on their way to heaven,’ are committing *sin*, in remaining in their servile condition, if they can by any means escape it. Rev. Sir, is not this the doctrine of insubordination? ‘Ye are bought with a price’—this price was undoubtedly the blood of Christ; and since, as Christ says, no man can serve two masters, a slave can not obey a man who sets himself up in the place of God. Duty to God is incompatible with the servile submission of American slavery.

‘Art thou called being a slave; care not for it.’ Why?—because slavery is a divine institution?—because it is right? No;—‘the

time is short,' and 'the fashion of this world passeth away,' and then the scenes of eternity will present a different aspect to the mind.

'The spirit can not always sleep in dust.'

But, O how opposite is the course of abolitionists! They assist *men* in escaping from slavery; they have a committee of vigilance to protect the victim of pro-slavery thievishness! The first suggestion of the mind, on reading such sentences, is, is the author sane? For myself, in this instance I would not vouch for it. Were this a voice from the days of the crusades, when they burned men at the stake accused of less *heretical* notions, one would not wonder so much! Even then the Pope would hardly grant absolution for such rank *heresy*! But when it comes from the pulpit in the 19th century, an honest man can hardly restrain his indignation. Opposed to slavery, and yet the author of such laborious and *slavish* sentiments!—such ridiculous and crude inferences!—such irreligion and downright blasphemy! Oh, 'tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon.' Wrong, to take in the unfortunate man just escaped from the fangs of the monster, and if he is hungry feed him, and if he is thirsty give him drink? Wrong, to relieve the wretchedness and supply the wants of the 'poorest of the poor?' Wrong, to hide from the eyes of his oppressor the trembling victim? Then indeed is it wrong to assist the fugitive slave. Every candid mind must acknowledge that the slave has as much right to escape from his master, as the master has to steal and appropriate him to his own use; and that while Paul urged the slaves to be patient, he at the same time, in commanding them *not* to be the slaves of men, permitted them to use all reasonable means in making their escape. But what says the word of God on this subject? 'These are the statutes and judgments which ye shall observe to do in the land which the Lord God of thy fathers giveth thee to possess it, all the days that ye live upon the earth.' Deut. xii. 1. This is one of them: 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee.' Whom shall abolitionists obey—God or man?

The second quotation adduced by the gentleman, is found in 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2. 'Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and *his* doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise *them* because they are brethren; but rather do *them*

service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit.\*

Let us hear the explanation of Pres. Green :

‘Perhaps no passage in the New Testament is so much insisted on in support of their views, by the apologists for slavery, as the following: ‘Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2. Prof. Stuart refers to this passage, to show that ‘the relation of master and slave is not as a matter of course abrogated between all Christians.’ With my exposition of this passage, Hermeneutics is greatly dissatisfied. It is clear—

1. That the apostle here addresses himself to *two classes of servants*. How does he distinguish the one from the other? The one comprehended ‘whatever servants were *under the yoke* ;’—all who were properly slaves. To avoid blasphemy, these were to count their masters worthy of all the respect which they were able to exact of their vassals. This general direction the apostle qualifies and limits in his letter to the Corinthians. They were to render no service and yield no respect which might be inconsistent with the claims of their Savior. ‘Be not ye the servants of men,’—‘Ye are bought with a price.’ The other class included such servants as had ‘believing masters.’ What relation did they sustain to each other?—of goods and chattels to absolute owners?—of things to irresponsible despots?—Surely not. The relation ‘OF BRETHREN.’ How much this involved, the letter to Philemon clearly explains. Enough to oblige the master to regard his christian servants, as he would the apostle Paul, ‘both in the flesh and in the Lord’—in every thing in which one man could, *as a man*, be related to another. If Hermeneutics had not stuck so tenaciously ‘to the bark,’ he must have seen that here was *emancipation* in its noblest sense.

2. All who are acquainted with the history of emancipation know, that on being set free, slaves very generally ‘go to work’ for their former masters. Look at the slaves, who by French influence were manumitted in St. Domingo. Look at the slaves from whom the yoke was recently removed in Antigua. The master naturally needs their services, and to secure them offers wages instead of stripes. To whom would the christian servants the apostle addresses, look for employment, sooner than to such masters as had devoted themselves to the same Savior in whom themselves confided?

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\* The gentleman read many of the subsequent verses, insinuating that Paul was describing the heresies of abolitionists, constantly pruning and making explanatory remarks, of which the following is a specimen: ‘And they that have believing masters,’—(that right! What! Paul love a slaveholder as a brother in Jesus Christ?)—‘because they are partakers of the benefit.’—(What! a slaveholder have religion! Paul here declares that they are partakers of the benefit, that is, of the atonement, of the mercy of God in Christ.) ‘These things teach and exhort. If any man (mark) teach otherwise,’—(There are some who do teach otherwise, and I declare it before God,) &c. &c. What religious trickery!



6. Nothing would be more natural, than to continue the *correlative names*, specially where there was no danger of misapprehension, which they had mutually borne. The term 'servant' was generic, describing any one, who on any conditions, however advantageous and honorable, rendered service to another. How often, moreover, do we not speak of Toissaint, as sending supplies to his *old 'master'* in America? Nothing whatever can be fairly inferred in favor of the continuance of slavery in the church, from the use of such words as 'master and servant,' in the connections in which Paul employs them.

4. To these views, the exhortation of the apostle is admirably adapted. He exhorts, not to 'DESPISE their masters because they are brethren.' Here my Hermeneutical censor charges me with 'taking a word instead of a thing.' This might for aught I know, be a grave charge, if it could be made intelligible. I know of no other way in which an *interpreter* can lay hold of the *things* he has to dispose of, than through the *words* he 'is set' to explain. The apostle exhorted the servants whom he addressed, who, in distinction from those who were 'under the yoke,' had 'believing masters,' not to despise them. How superficial I must have been, to give to the word *despise* the only meaning which general usage justifies—especially when used in a connection which demanded that signification! Hermeneutics is forced to admit, that '*in one respect* masters and slaves had come on a level—they were brethren.' They were on a level then on the whole ground to which christianity extends its obligations. Wherever the golden rule was applicable—wherever obedience to the command, 'thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' was required—there they stood, according to Hermeneutics, side by side on the ground of equality. I demand then—in the name of common sense and christian truth, I demand, whether on this ground, one brother could hold another as a piece of property, in subserviency to his own will—withholding from him what the God of Nature and the Author of Revelation had self-evidently and inalienably bestowed upon him? One christian brother *owning* another! Besides, in the letter to Philemon, the apostle explains the meaning of the word 'brother.' He is careful there to say, that it covers all the ties which as 'FLESH' bind one man to another. With what rightful authority does not Hermeneutics rebuke me for my stick-to-the-letter-shallowness! On the ground that the servants of 'believing masters' were raised to an equality with them, nothing could be more appropriate than the exhortation of the apostle. Be not intoxicated, I hear him say, with your new-born freedom. Raised to equality with your masters, now your equitable and affectionate employers, beware of assuming airs of importance. Be not arrogant. Do not despise those whom you ought to love and respect.'

Rev. James H. Dickey, says, ['Testimony of God against Slavery,' pp. 134] :—

'But, it will be said, the apostle calls them believing *δεδουλωται*, and therefore we must infer that a man might be a believer and still remain a *δεδουλωτης*, or slaveholder. But it does not follow.—The term *δεδουλωτης*, therefore, is proper to describe the person and the former relation. If we should say such a man was a reformed drunk-

ard, we should not intend to be understood that he is a drunkard still, but only describe his former condition. If the speaker should say that as an abolitionist, he is a converted slaveholder, it would be a case exactly parallel.

It is said that the word rendered servant means slave ; but it is not so ; the word is *δουλος*, and it means servant. It is true, all slaves are servants, but all servants are not slaves. The apostle in the sixth chapter of Timothy, when he wishes to address christian servants who were slaves, *adds* the description ‘under the yoke.’

‘Ye that have believing masters—let them not despise them because they are faithful and beloved, (*οι της ευεργεσίας αντιλαμβανομενοι*) participators in well doing.’ ‘Persons under the yoke of servitude to believing masters, were required not to despise them because they were Christians, and in that respect only their equals and brethren ; but to do them service as Christians and friends, and as persons participating with themselves in the exercise of true benevolence and justice, and who consequently might be expected to treat them with kindness, and equitably to compensate them for whatever service they performed.’ Christians may have retained persons as *servants*, without retaining them as *slaves*. The yoke of servitude which they imposed, may have been very different from that of the heathen. The fact of its being called by the same name, does not prove it to be the same thing. These instructions do not necessarily imply that the primitive christians held their ‘servants’ as ‘slaves,’ but on a contrary supposition they are perfectly appropriate.

Had the servants referred to been hired servants or apprentices, the apostolic injunction would still be proper and forcible. The supposition that they were such, harmonizes with the spirit of christianity ; it is therefore to be preferred. These things can not but carry conviction to every heart, and light to every mind. As an argument, it proves conclusively, that oppression has no hiding place in the writings of Paul. We have here the opinions of acknowledged scholars, that the terms used will apply in the one case as well as in the other. Where then, is there any necessity which forces upon a man the conclusion that they were slaves, held in absolute possession ? What necessity is there for a minister to come to such a conclusion ? Does it add to religion ? Does it give weight, character, and importance to the Bible ? Surely not—yet the gentleman is opposed to slavery ! What other force can we give to the gentleman’s language, than that of palliating crime, as acknowledged in slaveholding ? Shame on such pharisaical disposition of scripture !

‘He [Paul] commanded the slave to treat his master with all honor

and respect, but did he say that the master's claim was righteous? 'The slave converted, as such, was still chiefly to sustain the same relations to his master; unless, by a mutual arrangement between him and his master, he could obtain his liberty.' Indeed! new measures again!—'mutual arrangement!' Does not the gentleman know that there is no such thing as mutuality between master and slave? If slavery is right, freedom must be a *gift* on the part of the master—if wrong, then what nonsense, to talk of a mutual arrangement! If it is a *gift*, then the slave had no right or claim to his freedom, hence slaveholding is no sin. This is not the doctrine of Paul; and the gentleman comes under the portraiture drawn by his own hand, 'whereof cometh envy, strife,' &c.—'supposing that gain is godliness.'

The third and last quotation is the epistle of Paul to Philemon, whom the gentleman has so far disgraced as to call him a slaveholder. 'Onesimus,' says a certain writer, 'appears from the high character given of him in this epistle, and in Col. iv, 9, to have been a man of uncommon excellence and moral worth, and probably of high intellectual attainments. The interpretation of the epistle relating to him, which consigns to perpetual servitude so distinguished a servant of Christ, is manifestly partial and erroneous.' This is an honest and reasonable inference, and throws much light on the subject.

But hear Pres. Green :

'Paul sent back Onesimus to Philemon. By what process was this done? Did the apostle, a prisoner at Rome, seize upon the poor fugitive, and drag him before some heartless and perfidious Recorder, then, to obtain legal authority to send him back to Colosse? Did he bring his helpless victim away from the fat and supple magistrate, to be driven under the pressure of chains and with the inflictions of the lash, to the field of unrequited toil, whence he had escaped? Far otherwise. Had the apostle been like some religious teachers in the American churches, he might, as a Professor of Sacred Literature in one of our seminaries, or a preacher of the gospel to the rich in some of our cities, have consented thus to promote the peculiar interests of a dear slaveholding brother. But the venerable champion of truth and freedom was himself under bonds in the imperial city—waiting for the crown of martyrdom. He wrote a letter to the church at Colosse, which was accustomed to meet at the house of Philemon, and another letter to that magnanimous disciple, and sent them by the hand of Onesimus. So much for *the way* in which Onesimus was sent back to his master.

A slave escapes from a patriarch in Georgia, and seeks a refuge in a parish of the Connecticut doctor, who once gave public notice, that he saw no reason for caring for the servitude of his fellow men. Un-

der the influence of the doctor, Cæsar becomes a christian convert. Burning with love for the son whom he hath begotten in the gospel, our doctor resolves to send him back to his master. Accordingly, he writes a letter, gives it to Cæsar, and bids him return, staff in hand, to the 'corner-stone of our republican institutions.' Now, what would any Cæsar do, who had ever had a link of slavery's chain upon him? As he left the presence of his *spiritual father*, should we be surprised to hear him say, in communion with himself: 'What! return of my own accord to the man, who with the hand of a thief plucked me from the bosom of my mother!—for whom I have been often drenched with the sweat of unrequited toil!—whose violence so often cut my flesh and scarred my limbs!—who shut out every ray of light from the darkness in which he had confined me!—who with blasphemous tongue laid claim to those honors which my Creator and Redeemer demand at my hand! And for what am I to return? To be cursed and smitten, and sold to some trafficker in human flesh! To be tempted, and torn, and destroyed! I can not thus throw myself away—thus rashly rush upon my own destruction.'

Have you ever heard of the voluntary return of a fugitive from American oppression, to the fetters and scourges from which he had escaped? Do you think that Dr. Hewitt and his friends, with all their magnanimous and tender-hearted dont-care-ism, could persuade one to take a letter in his hand, and carry it to the patriarch from whose service he had fled? Credulity must be stretched on the rack to believe this of Onesimus. 'Paul sent back Onesimus to Philemon.' For what purpose? In some pecuniary transaction between them, Onesimus seems to have been guilty of injuring Philemon. 'If,' writes the apostle, 'he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on my account.' Alive to the claims of duty, the penitent fugitive would 'restore' whatever he 'had taken away.' He would honestly pay his debts. This resolution, the apostle warmly approved. He was ready, at whatever expense, to help his young disciple in carrying it into full effect. Of this, he assured Philemon in language the most explicit and emphatic. Here we find one reason for the conduct of Paul in sending Onesimus to Philemon.

If a fugitive slave of the Rev. Mr. Smilie, of Mississippi, should return to him with a letter from a doctor of divinity in New York, containing such an assurance, how would the reverend slaveholder dispose of it? I hear him exclaim: 'What have we here? What can the doctor mean?' 'If Cudjoe has not been upright in his pecuniary intercourse with you—if he owes you any thing, put that on my account. Take my name as security for any debt which he may have failed to pay.' What ignorance of the peculiarities of southern institutions, do not our northern friends continually betray! If their ears were not too delicate to hear him, the humblest lecturer among the abolitionists, could teach them, that it is mockery to talk of pecuniary intercourse between a slave and his master. *The slave himself, with all he is and has, is an article of merchandize.* What can he owe his master? A rustic may lay a wager with his mule, and allow the creature to beat him in the race they run. He may give

the mule the peck of oats, which he had permitted the animal to win. But who in sober earnest could call this a pecuniary transaction?

The servitude of Onesimus, whatever it might have been, could not have been as absolute and degrading as is endured by the American slave. But did Paul send Onesimus back, to be in any sense the *slave* of Philemon? Thus far had I written, when with emotions I know not how to describe, I read Prof. Stuart's letter to Dr. Fisk. With a confidence quite characteristic, the Professor exclaims, 'If any one doubts, let him take the case of Paul's sending Onesimus back to Philemon, with an apology for his running away, AND SENDING HIM BACK TO BE HIS SERVANT FOR LIFE.' 'TO BE HIS SERVANT FOR LIFE!'—To what part of the epistle could the expositor have applied the principles of interpretation with such skill and effect as to evolve a thought so soothing to tyrants—so revolting to every man who loves his own nature? Was this the passage?—'For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him forever.' Receive him how? *As a servant*, eagerly and confidently exclaims our commentator! But what wrote the apostle? 'Not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord.' By what system of Hermeneutics was our learned Professor authorized to bereave the word '*not*' of its negative character? According to Paul, Philemon was to receive Onesimus '*not* as a servant';—according to Stuart, he was to receive him '*as a servant*.' If the Professor could be persuaded to apply the same rules of exposition to the writings of the abolitionists, as he has applied to the epistles of Paul, with whatever '*vehemence*' they might continue to '*spout*,' all difference of views and sentiments between him and them must presently vanish away. The harmonizing process would be as simple as it must be effectual. He has only to understand them as affirming what they deny, and as denying what they affirm.

How does the apostle ask Philemon to receive Onesimus? As a '*brother*.' But was not brother with the apostle, synonymous with servant? Certainly and obviously not. He holds up the one in marked and strong contrast to the other. As a servant, Onesimus was '*not*' to be received; as a '*brother*,' he was. From the degradation of the one, he was to be raised to the dignity of the other. Philemon was to elevate him '*above a servant*.' How much '*above a servant*?' Philemon was to receive him as he would naturally have received a son of the apostle. As such Paul described him. 'Receive him,' he writes, 'that is, mine own bowels.' Nay, more: as he would receive the apostle himself, to whom he was under the strongest obligations, was he to receive Onesimus. 'RECEIVE HIM AS MYSELF.' Ah, exclaims one of our *spiritual hair-splitters*—philosophers, who having divided the hair, place '*abstract righteousness*' on the west, and '*practical righteousness*' on the south-west side thereof, affirming at the same time, that the distance between them is immense—Philemon was doubtless to treat Onesimus as a brother SPIRITUALLY, and as a slave CARNALLY. Thus, he might kneel by his side at a prayer meeting, spiritually—and whip and sell him when he got home, carnally.

So Professor Stuart's dear southern brethren seem to think. But through all the mist and moonshine of a mere creed-defending, psalm-singing religion, the keen eye of the apostle clearly saw the pitiful shifts of such empty pretenders. He therefore asked Philemon to receive Onesimus as a 'brother beloved, BOTH IN THE FLESH and in the Lord.' In all the relations of life, as a MAN, and as a *Christian*, Onesimus was to be treated as Philemon would naturally treat a son of the apostle—nay, the apostle himself.\*

In relation to the 15th verse, the same logical writer from whom I have several times quoted, says :

'The declaration that perhaps Onesimus was removed from his master for a time, that the latter might enjoy him forever, manifestly relates to a future state of glory—not to a state of confirmed servitude on earth. The language is plainly applicable to a future state, and the context requires that it should be interpreted in that sense.'

These expositions of Paul's instructions to Philemon, are perfectly consistent with the tenor of the gospel. Admitting, then, for the sake of argument, that Onesimus, previous to his escape, was a slave, Paul did not send him back as a *fugitive slave*, but a 'beloved brother,' the representative of Paul himself. If Paul sent back Onesimus a slave, to wear out his life in unrequited toil, he evidently disregarded the command of God, 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee ;' and christianity itself is made an instrument to torture humanity :—slavery is right, and the gentleman's abhorrence of it is fanaticism and sheer heresy. If this is the case, abolitionists do well not to follow an example so abhorrent to every tie of nature ; and Paul's writings are only slave codes for the southern MAN-BUYERS. But on the other hand, if the remarks are correct which have been made on these passages, abolitionists should not hesitate a moment, in sending back the converted runaway to a righteous Philemon. Were the slaveholders of the South, Philemons, how long, think ye, would slavery exist ?\* The idea then, that Paul would consign to hopeless bondage a distinguished 'brother,' to drag out a life of wretchedness, is libelous in the extreme.

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\* If any one will read the character of Philemon given by Paul, it will soon be discovered how disgraced he is, by a comparison with American slaveholders. Philemon was distinguished for his love 'toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints.' Are southern slaveholders distinguished for this ? They offer large rewards for their brethren—(white brethren I mean.)—\$10,000 for Rev. Mr. Phelps—\$20,000 for Arthur Tappan, &c. &c. They sentenced Amos Dresser to receive TWENTY LASHES ON HIS BARE BACK, for selling Cottage Bibles ! Oh, how the bowels of the saints are refreshed by southern slaveholders. Would it be safe for a northern minister, of abolition sentiments, to visit the South ? His body, at all events, would be refreshed with a '*delicious*' coat of tar and feathers, and his neck stretched without benefit of clergy ! I might mention many other characteristics, but I forbear.

‘On christian principles, Philemon was sacredly bound to do what, on christian principles, Paul, as a minister of Christ, might with great boldness command him to do.’ ‘In the strongest and most emphatic terms, he requested Philemon to enfranchise Onesimus.’ Would slaveholders admit of such ‘beseeching?’ What more have abolitionists done, than to ‘beseech’ the slaveholder to enfranchise his slaves? On what other grounds than christian principles have they demanded their emancipation? Has their course been marked by any other fanaticism? Is this spirit ‘rancorous’ and ‘full of hate?’ Say, thou hair-splitting Pharisee, canst thou, with all thy sophistry and misrepresentation, explain the difference between the ‘beseechings’ of Paul, and of modern abolitionists? ‘Receive him as a brother.’—[*Paul.*] ‘Receive him as a brother—look on the down-trodden slave as a *man*, made in the image of God, and possessed of certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’—[*Abolitionists.*]

But ‘by pious masters thus slavery is virtually destroyed.’ Then slavery is not a *malum in se*, but its wickedness consists in its abuses. Just the point exactly! After having digested a great deal of incongruous matter, the gentleman states, that it is the character and condition of slavery that is wrong, and not slavery itself. Indeed, there is in the terms here used, ‘pious masters’ and ‘virtually abolished,’ a glaring incongruity! To solve this ‘problem’ requires ‘the microscopic eye of the most acute hair-splitter!’ A rum-seller becomes ‘pious;’—he still continues to sell the poison to a poor drunken wretch, who is thereby starving his family. Why not say, that the traffick is ‘virtually destroyed!’ Thus by ‘pious’ rum-sellers, intemperance is ‘virtually destroyed!’ With this *prescription*, ‘three fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven states of the Union,’ may continue to sell and buy their brethren, may lash and cruelly use their slaves, and no wrong is done—slavery is ‘virtually abolished!’ What can be more soothing to the consciences of southern despots, than this doctrine? Verily, the gentleman is opposed to slavery! ‘*As I can not believe that slavery is wrong in itself, I am decidedly opposed to the measures of the abolitionists!*’ Such is the amount of the gentleman’s doctrine.

#### ANSWER TO ONE INQUIRY OF THE GENTLEMAN.

‘What have abolitionists done?’

In the words of Garrison, ‘they have done more during the past year, to overthrow the system of slavery, than has been accomplished

by the gradualists in half a century. They have succeeded in fastening the attention of the nation upon its enormities, and in piercing the callous consciences of the planters. They are reforming and consolidating public opinion, dispelling the mists of error, inspiring the hearts of the timid, enlightening the eyes of the blind, and disturbing the slumbers of the guilty.' Colonizationists gather a few leaves which the tree has cast off, and vaunt of the deed; abolitionists 'lay the axe at once at its roots, and put their united nerve into the steel; ' nor shall their strokes be in vain—for soon shall 'this poison-tree of lust and blood, and of all abominable and heartless iniquity, fall before them, and law and love, and God and man, shout victory over its ruins.' They have emancipated 80,000 slaves in the British colonies in 1834, and more than 400,000 on the first of August 1838. In the southern states, many slaveholders have liberated their slaves under abolition influence, among whom we may mention J. G. Birney, now a distinguished abolitionist. 'The South can tell what abolitionists have done.' 'An unfaithful and corrupt church can tell. Abolitionists have created a CONSCIENCE for them, which will never sleep, until every slave is emancipated, and every colored man acknowledged as a brother.' Texas, a nest of slaveholders, has been kept out of the Union by abolition influence. Is all this nothing? But suppose they had not as yet been the means of liberating one slave, they still have achieved glorious results. In every cause of reform, there are preliminaries to be arranged—the ground is to be broken up and prepared for the seed; this is half the work. But a few years have elapsed since the Anti-Slavery Reform commenced; and in this time the public mind has been prepared for great things—prejudice and error have been combatted and destroyed, and the nation prepared to receive the truth. Is this nothing? How long did temperance advocates toil before they succeeded? A few years since this reform commenced in Boston, and they have succeeded in a great measure in changing public opinion on this subject. Fewer years have elapsed since the formation of the first Anti-Slavery Society in the same city by a few individuals; and have the results been less glorious? Has public opinion been less changed? Anti-slavery sentiments have spread over all the North; their virtue has distilled itself in the air of the South, and slaveholders are startled. They have irradiated light, and the darkness is fled. Men and women of all classes are pledging themselves for God and liberty. The moral power of most of the North is arrayed against slavery. Is all this nothing? He



who will look on and see these things, and not be convinced, would not be though one rose from the dead.\*

## RECAPITULATION.

I have thus far briefly examined the 'objections' of the gentleman. What importance may hereafter be attached to them, is for the reader to say. In relation to the spirit which is exhibited throughout the discourse, there appears to be a settled determination to injure the cause of holy liberty, by any and every means capable of invention. The whole sermon is aimed at the root of abolitionism. Misrepresentation, ridicule, and sarcasm, are each of them taxed, to drive men and women from the position which they have taken in behalf of bleeding humanity. There is no eye had upon *principle*—no firm, unyielding stand on principle; expediency is the grand moving object—a base bowing before the shrine of public opinion, and man is the creature of circumstances. He is robbed of that innate and God-like dignity—that man-distinguishing privilege, to think and act for himself, irrespective of the world around him. He must succumb to the will of the many, whether right or wrong; thus yielding to a species of *aristocracy*, more blighting to liberty than that which shackles the American slave. There is no grappling with the spirit of darkness in a death-struggle—no fearless onset made upon the enemies of God and man—no bold and daring arm wielded in defense of the *right*; but in this dreadful moral warfare, where brother is pitched against brother, and sister against sister, there is a parley with the enemy:—none of that spirit which filled the bosom of the primitive Christians, and which caused them to embrace the stake rather than yield their principles—none of that spirit which moved Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin, to struggle against Anti-Christ, and by which they finally broke the spell of age, and lighted up the surrounding darkness—none of that spirit which lighted up the fires of Smithfield—none of that spirit which led the 'fanatical' Puritans to embark from their native land, and seek an asylum in a foreign and inhospitable clime—none of that spirit which actuated Benezet and Edwards;—in fine, truth, honesty, free-

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\* The gentleman stated that English abolitionists did not sympathize with American abolitionists. This is entirely incorrect. George Thompson was delegated by English abolitionists to this country, and every body knows what treatment he received from American *anti-abolitionists*. Drs. Cox and Hobbes were delegated by English abolitionists to this country, and instructed to declare their abhorrence of American slavery, and their sympathy for American abolitionists. Meetings are frequently held in different parts of Britain, for the purpose of sympathizing with American abolitionists. So much for the gentleman's assertion!

dom, and christianity, are all sacrificed. Oppression shakes hands with oppression, and the northern apologist *would* receive a traitor's boon from the lily finger of the South.

The gentleman, for what purpose I know not, calls abolition '*modern* abolition.' Is he one that believes *that* 'self-evident truth' a mere 'rhetorical flourish?' Is he so little acquainted with the history of the past?—Go back to the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, and see first principles brought to light, and the genius of liberty in embryo. See them working, like 'the still small voice,' in the English revolution of 1678. One hundred years after, see them embodied in the great charter of American liberty. See their champions in a Hopkins of Rhode Island, a Jay of New York, an Edwards of Connecticut, Franklin and Bush, Benezet and Woolman of Pennsylvania, Wilberforce, Sharp, Clarkson and Wesley of England, and Lafayette of France.\* Is abolition then a new thing? Its principles may have slumbered or have been driven into a small space, but now, thank God, they have arisen with new life and vigor;—like christianity arising out of the ashes of the martyrs—their blood threw vigor and nerve into its arm, and woe has been unto the powers of darkness. It is not then a mere 'fanciful speculation,' a 'fanatical chimera.'—Its principles are eternal, co-existent with God, and ere the earth was brought forth out of chaos, they shed rich luster around his throne—they will live, and on the ruins of the universe, remain to light the spirit upward.

Again—the gentleman states that abolition is the cause of disturbance in churches, &c. 'It disturbs precisely that harmony in a church which ought to be disturbed, viz. harmony of sin.' The argument amounts to this, we must not rebuke sin, that is, we must not be faithful in christian duty and in obeying scripture, because it disturbs the peace of the church. Such a church should be disturbed—the gospel is a great disturber of the harmony of such churches. Its spiritual condition must be lamentable, if it can not hear the 'whole counsel of God.' It amounts to something else—the peace of the *few* must be regarded rather than the well-being of the *many*, that is, they must institute a church aristocracy—*ecclesia regiescat in pace carlum vvat*—and we must be church-ridden and priest-ridden, and slavery be perpetuated until the resurrection.

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\* 'In 1788, Lafayette was enrolled at his own request, amongst the honorary and corresponding members' of a society formed for 'the manumission of slaves and the abolition of slavery.'

Again—the gentleman is extremely selfish. It is evident that he does not regard the slave as a *brother*, if a *man*; or if so, he must be cruel to shield his oppressor. Throughout his whole discourse, he does not once candidly consider, or refer to the object of our benevolent efforts. This is the difficulty with such apologists,—looking at slavery in the *abstract*, its victim is entirely *abstracted* or put out of sight; slavery, they say, is an evil, but it would appear they mean, on the part of the master only. The slave after all is to be dealt with only as suits the master. In the name of common sense, is slavery no evil to the slave?—is he entirely beneath the notice of these gentlemen? Oh that they would leave dry abstraction and regard the interests of the slave! If the object of the humane exertions of abolitionists, was a son or a daughter of the gentleman, would he so *moralize* and deliberate on the subject of their release? Would he say, it is wrong for them to escape from the clutches of their oppressor? or, wrong to assist them in escaping? Or suppose a Barbary Corsair should capture and carry to Algiers the Rev. Sir himself, to drag out a life of woe and wretchedness under this ‘divine institution,’ would the course of the abolitionists be too ‘denunciatory and reckless’ if they stirred up the whole Union in his behalf? Oh no. That concerns *me*! I am a descendant of the revolutionaries of ’76, and have a white skin withal! Enslave *me*! No! Sympathy never passes **beyond MINE**—he never considers that the slaves are husbands, parents and children, and that *their* ties are as tender as those of their masters. These are ruthlessly torn asunder and annihilated. The air reverberates with the cries of the disconsolate husband and widowed woman, and echo like deep-toned thunder calls for relief. They may weep until their tears settle into pools at their feet, yet because they are tinged with ebony, we must not send them help, or respond to the groans of humanity. Very little is wrong—and the ‘pious’ (?) minister meets the slaveholder with all due deference and exemplary humility, and perhaps his hands may have just reeked with the blood of his victim—but nothing is wrong. Nero fiddled when Rome was burning, and lighted up his gardens with the bodies of Christians; but the indifference of these pious *ones* would shock even Nero or Caligula.

Again—the gentleman is no abolitionist, and can not consistently say he is opposed to slavery. When once told, by a member of his congregation, that he was not an abolitionist, he resented it very highly, and then shortly after preached the sermon under consideration. He is such an abolitionist as the South desires—one who opposes the efforts of those in favor of emancipation—one who never exposes the

abominations of slavery—one who has not made his peace with the free colored man, and wishes him banished to Africa—one who does not sympathize with the friends of the oppressed when mobbed.\* An abolitionist who says slavery is wrong, and yet wrong to assist a man in escaping from it! If this is not acknowledging the right of the slaveholder to his slave, I do not understand the force of words. An abolitionist who says that when masters are pious, slavery is virtually abolished thereby, making it a righteous relation! A friend to the oppressed, and refuse to give notice to his congregation of a monthly concert to be held for the enslaved!† If he is opposed to slavery, and abolitionists are opposed to slavery—so far they are both right:—why not co-operate with each other? Why not unite in this mighty moral contest, in which there are only friends and foes, for the truth? He can unite with Baptists and Methodists in revivals, although on some points they are very different. Why not pursue the same course in relation to the abolition of slavery? Oh, no. Here he stops and betrays most intelligible moral cowardice. He graduates his standard in relation to the delicate question of slavery, by the scale of public opinion. When that opinion sanctions the enslavement of MEN, it is his *vox Dei!*—a *quantum sufficit!*—and his lips are as closed on this subject, as those of a cast-iron image. Such abolitionists are all men; such abolitionists were those who dragged Garrison through the streets of Boston—who shot down Lovejoy—who burnt Philadelphia Hall. It is such abolition as would perpetuate slavery to the latest generation.

Again—the gentleman knew little about the topic he discussed.—The most common events in the history of the anti-slavery enterprise are entirely overlooked. None of the interesting events of the day are hinted at; the familiar A B C doctrines of abolitionism are unknown. The gentleman betrays the most profound ignorance of fundamental principles; and the production altogether, is a most unintelligible, uncharitable, ridiculous, and absurd jargon of words. He has contented himself, like the *godly* (?) Pharisee of old, to thank God that he is not of the ‘poor and despised sect.’ Guarded by *his* PULPIT,

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\* The gentleman stated to the writer, during the excitement which prevailed in his village, when the friends of freedom were mobbed and insulted, that he had as much sympathy for the *mobocrats* as the *abolitionists*, and that he would as soon have the spirit of the one in his church as the other.

† The gentleman actually refused to read a notice of this kind, handed to him by an elder of his own church.

there he has intrenched himself, and hurled his *brutum fulmen*, and 'vociferations.' Very 'appropriate business' for a minister of Christ!

Again—abolition has nothing to fear from such men and such *sermons*. It is the wildest chimera for the gentleman to suppose he can crush the cause of holy liberty. He might as well undertake to extinguish the fires of Vesuvius with a thimble-full of water, or preach Niagara into silence, as to attempt to put out the fires of freedom. It is like Xerxes, who beat the ocean for its *impudence*! It is nearly six years since this enterprise commenced. During this time it has met with the most determined opposition from clericals and non-clericals, the respectable and the low, the learned and the vulgar, law makers and law breakers, the very faces of society. It has been assailed with clerical appeals and protests, sermons and exhortations, showers of addled eggs, brickbats, and stones, unanswerable 'syllogisms of feathers' and 'deductions of tar.' But what of that?—They have all been, like the gentleman's discourse, complete *abortions*! Abolition has increased rapidly; the shadow of its gigantic stature has startled the South, and slavery recoils within the caverns of its dark prison-house. It is the opposition which it has met, that has thrown power into the giant's arm, and made the monster tremble for his life. Abolitionism now numbers most of the influential and good of all classes at the North. The signs of the times are ominous to slaveholders and their apologists—*verbum sat sapienti*.

Lastly—What is abolition? It is not that fanatical, jacobinical, and wild scheme, which the gentleman has represented it to be. It is more peaceable, and far more glorious. 'It is to treat *all* men as *men*'—as immortal beings, born to occupy a dignified station. It means that the title of property in *man* shall cease—that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, connected by a tie which God has sanctioned, and commanded no man to sunder. It means that parents should have the control over their own children, and be allowed to instruct them—it means that men shall pay their laborers for their work—that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism.' It means that the colored *MAN* is a *MAN*. Is there any thing sanguinary or horrid in all this? Is there any man who breathes the air of liberty, who will despise and reject it? You may say this is not *all* of abolition! Yes, reader this is *all* of abolition. What Rev. B. F. Wile adds to it, does not make a part of it. Abolitionists are not accountable for every bug-bear his

imagination can bring into existence. You are not to depend on men who know nothing about it, to find out what abolition is. If you have no anti-slavery publications, read the speeches of Patrick Henry, John Hancock, and George Washington—read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States—read the 5th chapter of Matthew—read the sermons of Christ and the epistles of Paul; these contain *all* of abolition. See it in the exercise of your own fire-side privileges. Can you claim your own body and use your locomotives at will?—recollect there are more than two and a half millions in your own country who can not do it; their limbs are shackled and chained. Can you claim the hire of your own services? There are millions who toil and sweat from morn to night, to support and pamper the pride of despots. Can you claim your wife and children as yours, without fears of having them stolen from you? There are millions—aye, of your own fellow citizens, whose wives are torn from them and sold to irresponsible and cruel masters, whose children are snatched from their embrace and ‘*shipped*’ to the far South, out of their sight forever. Are you abused and insulted, and can you appeal to the law and obtain justice? Recollect that for the poor slave there is no law; he may be abused, wronged, lacerated, whipped, and chained, and no arm of law can reach him or save him. Oh, reader, remember the down-trodden and insulted negro. Unite with me in bidding God speed to that grand movement which holds out light and life to the slave; bid it roll on until slavery is *dead*—dead and buried.

‘Let mammon hold, while mammon can,  
The bones and blood of living man;  
Let tyrants scorn, while tyrants dare,  
The shrieks and writhings of despair;  
The end will come, it will not wait,  
Bonds, yokes, and scourges have their date,  
Slavery itself must pass away,  
And be a tale of yesterday.’

## NOTE.

After the form was struck off which contains a letter from New York to Mr. Garrison, relative to the free churches of that city, another letter appeared in the *Liberator*, written by Lewis Tappan, denying many of the charges of Mr. Davison. For the purpose of understanding both sides, and the affair as it is, we insert the letter with a remark from the editor :

*To the Editor of the Liberator :—*

Perceiving in your paper of the 5th, a letter signed H. W. Davison, dated in this city, respecting the call of Rev. Joel Parker to the Tabernacle church, in which my name is mentioned, that contains several incorrect statements, clothed in very reprehensible language, I hasten to give you a relation of facts in justice to all concerned. H. W. D. styles Mr. Parker, 'the great apologist for slavery;' whereas he professes to be opposed to it, but had not sufficient hatred to this system of iniquity, or enough moral courage, to urge its sinfulness upon his slaveholding church at New Orleans. H. W. D. represents that Mr. Parker arrived in this city about three months since, that he was immediately invited to preach at the Tabernacle, that a minority of the people made strenuous exertions to have him for their pastor; but finding the abolitionists too strong for them, they invited the First Free Church to unite with them, under the joint pastoral care of Rev. George Duffield, 'a true abolitionist, and J. Helffenstein, a zealous colonizationist,' who continued, amidst strife and contention, a short time, when both resigned. And he further states, that ~~th~~ way being thus cleared, Rev. Joel Parker received a call to supply the vacancy ~~ly~~ a small majority of the members—that the writer and other true friends of liberty will not remain, &c. All this is incorrect.

The facts are, that Mr. Parker was not invited to preach at the Tabernacle, until long after the two churches had been harmoniously united under the pastoral care of Messrs. Duffield and Helffenstein; and when it was found that the united church could not support two ministers, a few members, as a self-constituted committee, conferred with the pastors, and, after intimating that the united churches would not acquiesce in either remaining as sole pastor, induced both to tender their resignations. Mr. Parker had previously been invited by the pastors to preach on one occasion. When it was ascertained that both pastors would leave, the thoughts of the church were turned to Mr. Parker as successor. It is true, that some thought at the time, and do still, that it was in the contemplation of the self-appointed committee to invite Mr. Parker before a vacancy was created; and considerable dissatisfaction has been, and still is, felt, in and out of the church at the supposed ill-treatment of Mr. Duffield. Providence opened a field of usefulness to both the late pastors immediately, Mr. Helffenstein accepting a call from Chambersburgh, Pa., and Mr. Duffield from Detroit, Michigan. While they were in the pastoral charge at the Tabernacle, there was no strife nor contention in the church.

Shortly after the resignation of the two pastors, the church held a meeting to consider the subject of choosing a pastor. Mr. Parker was nominated, and his merits and fitness for the post were discussed at length during two protracted sessions of the church. Those who advocated the nomination of Mr. Parker, spoke of him as the pioneer minister of the free churches in this city, of his peculiar talents as a preacher, of his consistency, prudence, success in revivals, moral courage, the probability that he would attract a large congregation, and thus make it easy to support public worship, beside liquidating the debt due by the Tabernacle church. Those who opposed the nomination, (and I confess that I was one of the number,) *showed the great inconsistency between Mr. Parker's preaching and conduct before and since his residence at New Orleans.* The result was not, however, as H. W. Davison has stated, that Mr. Parker was called 'by a small majority of the members,' as only twenty-eight persons voted in the negative! It is not known to me whether the call will be accepted or not, and no members of the church, to my knowledge, have declared that they will not remain.

I have thus given a correct statement of facts, and can not but lament that any one, although under feelings irritated by provocation, should have made so many

errors in communicating to you a history of the affairs of the Tabernacle church, leading you to head it 'ecclesiastical juggling,' and have used language so highly improper.

I might have stated, that H. W. Davison is in error also in styling Mr. Helfenstein 'a zealous colonizationist,' as I never heard him mention the expatriation society while he ministered at the Tabernacle. He also commits an egregious mistake in saying that Mr. Morse of the N. Y. Observer, and Mr. Hale of the Journal of Commerce, have connected themselves with this congregation within the last three months. Mr. Hale has been a member of the church a long time, and Mr. Morse has never united with it.

The following is the remark of the editor of the Liberator :

'We published the letter of Mr. Davison, in a late number, respecting the Tabernacle church at New York, and Mr. Parker, &c., because the author wrote over his own signature. It seems, by the letter of our brother Lewis Tappan, that Mr. D. has fallen into several errors, though correct in his statement that Joel Parker, of New Orleans, has been invited to be the pastor of that church. How any of our abolition brethren can be willing to sit under the preaching of Joel Parker, the despisser and enemy of *colored* humanity—the warm abettor of that monstrous crusade which is waged against the existence of our colored countrymen on this their native soil—the 'dumb dog' who was afraid to open his lips against slavery during his residence in New Orleans—an enemy of the freedom of speech and of the press—and a participator in the riots in Alton, which ended in the murder of Lovejoy—is to us incomprehensible. It will be remembered, that in the very height of the bloody tempest in Alton, a colonization meeting was held in that place at which inflammatory speeches were made against the abolitionists, evidently designed, and certainly calculated, at least to prevent the re-establishment of the Alton Observer, by adding new fuel to the raging fire of public phrenzy. At that meeting, its editor was misrepresented, denounced, and pointed at by the finger of opprobrium. At that meeting, Joel Parker took a conspicuous part. And it was that meeting which sealed the death-warrant of the lamented Lovejoy.

One of the reasons which our brother Tappan states was given in church-meeting, why Mr. Parker should be the pastor at the Tabernacle, was 'the probability that he would attract a large congregation, and thus make it easy to support public worship, beside liquidating the debt due by the church'! A nice calculation. Thus it is that principle is sacrificed to interest. But a God of justice will surely frustrate all such contrivances.'

## ERRATUM.

2th page, 18 lines from bottom, for '*direct* despotism,' read *direct* despotism.









